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# AMERICAN TEACHER

## IN THIS ISSUE

Dictatorship of the Bankers  
Charles J. Hendley

Danger to Free Public Education  
William J. Bogan

Banking and Bankers  
John P. Frey

"Smoke"  
William T. McCoy

Teachers and Taxes

Radio Channels  
Harris K. Randall

The World Court  
Esther Everett Lape



FEBRUARY, 1933

VOLUME XVII No. 3

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## Table of Contents

	Page		Page
Our Opportunity—Editorial .....	3	Vox Magestri .....	20
Dictatorship of the Bankers.....Chas. J. Hendley	4	The Sargent Committee.....	21
Danger to Free Public Education.....Wm. J. Bogan	7	Florence C. Hunter.....	21
Childhood versus the Depression.....Wm. G. Carr	8	Education or Catastrophe.....	22
Banking and Bankers.....John P. Frey	10	Dublin Conference of W. F. E. A.....	24
"Smoke".....Wm. T. McCoy	13	Radio Channel Grants and Grantees.....Harris K. Randall	25
Editorials .....	16	United States and the World Court.....Esther Everett Lape	26
Teachers and Taxes		Schools and the A. F. of L. Convention.....	28
The Present Crisis		News from the Field.....	29
Some More "Economy"			
Making Teaching a Profession			
Speaking of Laps			
The Coat and the Cloth			

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## THE AMERICAN TEACHER

VOL. XVII

FEBRUARY, 1933

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## Our Opportunity

TEACHERS have been told by many lay speakers who address their gatherings that they are the intelligence and the leadership of the country. Most of these speakers have not meant what they said but have been using a conventional introduction to addresses to teachers' groups.

The teachers have an unparalleled opportunity and the greatest possible incentive to prove that these speakers have been unconsciously right. Opportunity, because in the matter of the great economic depression both leadership and intelligence seem to be on vacation. Incentive, in that the present disturbance endangers not only the welfare of the teachers but the whole educational system of which the teachers are a part.

All thinking persons attribute the depression to a lack of purchasing power. No one believes that there is any lack of resources or power to produce. In spite of this, various groups of the wealthier citizens are displaying their lack of leadership by acting in large self-appointed committees—they haven't confidence enough in their leadership to risk selection by others—and showing their lack of intelligence by doing, through these committees, everything in their power to reduce purchasing ability still further.

This leaderless and unintelligent onslaught on the purchasing power that still remains in this stricken country, is cutting wages, cutting government and cutting public education. Every cut means diminished purchasing power and aggravates the present economic depression.

Of all the governmental agencies, education will suffer the most. These aggregations of wealthy citizens are interested in maintaining the so-called public safety departments as the large property owners are the chief beneficiaries of these direct property protecting agencies. Their chief interest in public education, however, is as taxpayers. They may, and usually do, educate their children in expensive private schools.

While intelligence and leadership is inferior among the subversive groups referred to, there are even less of these qualities evidenced in any opposition to them. It is inconceivable that a great majority of the people do not want public education maintained at least at the present level, but without intelligent leadership and action the great majority is having its public school system destroyed.

If there is any intelligence and any leadership among the teachers, they will be used in protecting public education. It is peculiarly the teachers' field. Its safeguarding is their job. If the plans of the destroyers are successful, no one will suffer more than the teachers, except the children. No one is as well qualified to lead the opposition to these enemies of the schools. Probably no one will make a fight to save any institution unless those most closely identified with it will lead and intelligently direct the struggle.

No opposition will be effective unless it is organized. The opponents of public education may not be intelligent but they are organized. The defenders of that institution must be as well or better organized. A few

people well organized will defeat a much greater number with no real unified organization.

If the teachers are to make any intelligent counter attack against the foes of education, they must first find out who their friends are among existing organized and therefore the only effective groups.

Many groups of bankers, merchants, manufacturers, tax dodgers and what not have declared strongly for reduction in all public expenditures. Only one large organized body that is not strictly educational by nature has declared for no retrenchment in public education. That body is the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor has been a consistent supporter of public education during its entire existence of more than fifty years. It has been more responsible than any other force for the expansion of public education. Without its support there would be no compulsory education, no increases in compulsory school age and probably no free public high schools.

The American Federation of Labor has within its ranks more members than all of the organizations which have placed themselves on record favoring curtailments in the public schools. And the children of these members attend the public schools. They are interested as parents first and only incidentally as taxpayers.

The American Federation of Labor has many troubles during the depression. Hundreds of thousands of members of the great unions affiliated with it are unemployed. The Federation is interested in the welfare of these members and is doing its utmost to aid them. It expects the people of each craft to take the lead and lend its support. Why should the teachers expect the American Federation of Labor or any one other than themselves to take the lead in an aggressive campaign to save the Nation's schools? The American Federation of Labor and its members will give its full strength and whole-hearted support to any action to save the schools of their children which is begun and led by those who are naturally the ones to do it. The best evidence of this is the staunch support given the schools and the teachers in the communities where the teachers are organized. The local affiliates of the labor movement and their members have given immeasurable aid and protection in the organized cities.

With all the opportunity and incentive the teachers have to organize and lead a real opposition to the anarchic forces which threaten the schools and all connected with them, the history of teachers' organizations does not offer great hope. In most large cities there are many competing organizations, none of which, or at most only one, is making or is capable of making any intelligent effort to solve the economic and political difficulties that beset us.

Unless the teachers forget their petty differences, their silly prejudices and unite with each other and then with other friends of the schools, public education as we know it is doomed to vanish from the land. When the radical economizers and cutters get through, there will be left about six grades and three R's.

(Turn to page 15)

# The Dictatorship of the Bankers

Charles J. Hendley

**T**HE present regime in the states and the nation is virtually a dictatorship of the bankers. Municipal and state governments, private corporations, and even the national government has received peremptory demands from the bankers to reduce budgets. In many instances they have made the specific demand that payrolls be cut. The nature of their business makes it inevitable that they should make such demands. For the value of the securities they hold or sell depend upon balanced budgets and to them the most obvious method of balancing a budget in time of stress is to cut the payrolls. The November issue of the monthly review the National City Bank advances the argument that high wages are retarding economic recovery and that wage cuts, if general, do not lower the standard of living.

## Example of the New York Bankers

We shall use the example of the bankers of New York City to illustrate what is happening in the realm of municipal financing. Until about a year ago New York City could obtain temporary loans for 3% or less. Then suddenly the bankers refused to advance money except at very high rates and on their own conditions. Even the relief stations of the city were closed for several days until the bankers got their 6%. For more than a year now every temporary loan obtained by the city has been granted grudgingly and at high rates of interest.

Last September the mayor of the city in making a demand that the city's employees take a reduction in pay said: "The city has to economize to satisfy the bankers. I got \$17,000,000 recently to last until October 1. We won't get any more unless we put through a definite retrenchment program. The bankers want results, and I have determined to see that they get them." Incidentally, we might add that the city employees have not yet come across with a "voluntary" donation to balance the budget.

On October 17 this year Mr. Mitchell, President of the National City Bank, and other prominent bankers appeared before the Board of Estimate and in a dramatic manner demanded a drastic reduction of the budget as a condition of obtaining any more loans. Again two weeks later, according to the press, dozens of bankers from over twenty banks crowded a meeting of the Board of Estimate. One result has been a reduction of about \$75,000,000 in the city's budget, but the bankers and real estate operators are not yet satisfied. They frankly demand a big reduction in the payroll, a salary reduction for all city employees and have carried their fight to the state legislature. On November 30, Mr. Mitchell of the National City Bank, Mr. Aldrich of the Chase National Bank, and the Mayor and the Comptroller of New York City went to Albany to confer with Governor-elect Lehman, who is Acting Governor in the absence of Governor Roosevelt. The conference lasted until the wee small hours of the night, and as a result Lehman called an extra session of the Legislature to meet on December 9 to deal with New York City finance. One particular object is the repeal of certain mandatory legislation that protects teachers' and other city employees' salaries.

## The Citizens' Budget Commission

We have in New York a self-appointed citizens' budget commission that is now gloating over its victory in forcing the politicians to agree to this special session of the Legislature. This so-called commission is composed of bankers, real estate operators and representatives of the public utilities. We have identified their most prominent and active members and found that out of a list of forty of them, thirty represent twenty-one leading banks, twenty-odd principal mortgage companies, and over thirty miscellaneous real estate companies. The public utilities are represented through the banks. This commission has employed experts to "educate" public opinion and to present its demands to the politicians. Probably numerous other communities in the country have similar citizens' committees making drives for retrenchment in public service.

The New York bankers are in an especially strategic position. On the one hand, as members of the Citizens' Budget Commission they can pose as exemplars of civic virtue and exploit the embarrassment that the Tammany politicians experience as a result of the Seabury revelations, and on the other hand, as monopolizers of credit they can dictate terms to an improvident city administration. To oppose their dictatorship appears, superficially, to be aiding and abetting the political racketeers.

## The Bankers' Profits

Yet, these "exemplary" citizens, the bankers, do not hesitate to demand higher rates of interest for themselves while demanding that workers' wages and salaries be reduced. And the record of their profits even during this depression show that they have been able to take care of themselves. Thirty-one of the largest public banks of the city have made profits as follows during the last three and a half years:

### Profits of Thirty-One Largest New York Public Banks

Year	Net Profits	Dividends Paid	Accumulated Surplus and Undivided Profits
1929 .....	\$162,039,000	\$103,402,000	\$1,244,714,000
1930 .....	143,746,000	112,306,000	1,396,945,000
1931 .....	189,924,000	132,003,000	1,172,847,000
1932 (6 mos.) ..	66,433,000	55,985,000	1,058,473,000
Totals .....	\$562,142,000	\$403,696,000	

—Moody's Manual of Banks, 1931, 1932.

From this table it will be observed that these banks are paying dividends in this the third year of the worst depression on record at a rate that will total nearly \$112,000,000, or about \$9,000,000 more than they paid themselves in 1929 when prosperity was at its peak for other businesses. Some of these banks have reduced their dividends this year, but their dividends still range from 6% to 100% of their capital stock, or an average dividend of 14.5%. On their total capital structure, which consists of their capital stock and the accumulated surplus and undivided profits, their 1932 dividends amount to 6.14%. This is a little greater than it was in 1929.

Of course the accumulated surplus is profit too. In other words, profits are being pyramided on profits at a rate of over 6% this year. Yet this is an understatement of the profits of the interests who are demanding

so strongly that our salaries be cut. For it does not include the profits of the big private banks like J. P. Morgan & Co., Speyer & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., because the records of their profits are not available to the public. These big private firms, though, have a prominent part in financing the city. And we have not undertaken to account for profits paid in the form of stock dividends and subscription rights. Neither have we tried to estimate the profits that have accrued to the favored few through mergers and the split up of stock into smaller units. This wondrous method of accumulating profits at a compound interest ratio would go on indefinitely and profits grow right on up to the sky like Jack's beanstalk if the capitalist system were sound either in operation or in theory.

### Bankers the Modern Demi-Gods

Louis Brandeis, now Justice of the United States Supreme Court, exposed the bankers' methods of profiteering eighteen years ago in his little book entitled "Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use It." Recently a new edition of this significant book has been published, and it is even more timely, if possible, than it was in 1914. Brandeis makes a clear exposition of what Thorstein Veblen and others have shown in more abstruse language; viz., that bankers dominate the business and industrial life of the capitalist world.

In the first place, they have in their control the medium of exchange of practically the whole business world, it being entrusted to them on deposit. Not only are they the custodians of the petty accounts of ordinary persons, but their institutions are the depositories of the insurance companies, the public utilities, the railroads, other big corporations, and the municipal, state and national governments. And, of course, they have the moral and legal right to loan these funds for their own profit.

In the next place, the big bankers monopolize the credit of the business world. Only they can underwrite the enormous issues of securities and commercial paper that are constantly offered for sale. And the issue of credit is of vastly greater importance in the modern business world than the circulation of money, for more than 90% of the business transacted is on the basis of credit in one form or another.

Brandeis makes plain how the bankers have gone far beyond the role of mere custodians of other people's money and the role of dealer in securities and commercial paper. They have obtained control of the management, either directly or indirectly, of all of the key industries, such as railroads, public utilities, steel, oil, coal, etc., etc.

Labor, too, has felt the dictatorship of the bankers. Ever since the elder J. P. Morgan founded the Steel Trust and waged war upon the steel workers' union, bankers have used their influence to prevent workers from organizing and to keep wages down. In the great railroad strike of 1922 the workers found that they were opposed by the bankers rather than the managers. And undoubtedly the present demand for a further reduction of railroad workers' pay comes from the same source. For the bankers are hell-bent on saving the capital structure of the railroads even though it be at the expense of Labor. The bankers' own employees are among the poorest paid white-collar workers, and many of them have been summarily discharged for daring to try to organize.

Verily the bankers dominate the economic world like the demi-gods that lived in the imagination of the Greeks.

### Fear of the Gods

Moreover, the awe the ancients had for the gods and the demi-gods has its counterpart in the profound deference we have for the demi-gods of business. There is a traditional assumption that the bankers have, and by right should have, the final word in all temporal matters. There is a popular preconception that the demands of money-leaders must be met or our whole economic life will come to a complete standstill, and that the bankers have infallible judgment as to what the interest rates should be. The present economic impasse might, indeed, be interpreted by some as a verification of this popular belief.

### The Incubus of the Capital Structure

However, Brandeis and others have shown how disastrous for both banking and industry banker-management has been. One effect has been to burden industry with a capital structure, or as Veblen used to say, with a capitalized overhead cost, that now seems to paralyze industrial effort. In the 1932 issue of Moody's Manual of Industrials (p. liv) there is a compilation of securities outstanding in the United States. The figures are said to be collected from the publications of the United States Treasury and other reliable sources. They indicate an enormous growth of capitalization in the form of stocks, bonds and mortgages.

### Corporation Securities Outstanding in the United States

(Face Value in Billions)

	1925	1929	1931
a. Bonded Debts .....	\$ 28,489	\$ 41,731	\$ 44,894
b. Preferred Stocks .....	15,947	19,632	20,170
c. Common Stocks .....	58,987	89,184	90,561
d. Total Stocks and Bonds.....	\$103,423	\$150,547	\$155,625
e. Gain over amount of 1925....	.....	47,124	52,202
f. Accumulated Surplus .....	34,567	54,812	.....
g. Total Capital Structure.....	\$137,990	\$205,359	.....
h. Gain over amount of 1925....	.....	67,369	.....

These figures show that in the four years from 1925 to 1929 the corporations of the country increased their capital stock and bonds by more than forty-seven billions of dollars, or at the rate of nearly \$12,000,000 annually. When we take account of the accumulated surplus and undivided profits (line f), we find that the total capital structure of these corporations increased over sixty-seven billions of dollars, or at the rate of nearly \$17,000,000 annually. (See lines g and h). The most reckless of the promoters would hardly contend that the material assets and the tangible output of industry grew at such a pace even in that golden period. Much of this increase in capitalization was undoubtedly mere inflation of credit, and a large amount of the assets underlying it was intangible. The fictitious character of much of this capital structure is revealed in the radical fluctuation in the market value of the securities that represent it. We have no figures on the total market value of all of the securities mentioned in the table above, but the fluctuation of the prices of the stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange illustrate what happened. From the same source, Moody's Manual of Industrials, 1932, p. liv, we obtain the following:

### Market Value of Stocks Listed on the New York Stock Exchange

	1925	1929	1931
Number of issues.....	1,043	1,293	1,295
Value in Billions.....	\$34.489	\$64.708	\$26.694

The market value of these securities rose nearly 90% in four years, and then in two years declined to a point more than 22% below their value at the beginning of the period. Of course, the tangible industrial equipment and resources which these stocks represent did not change in amount corresponding to this fluctuation in price. In other words a large amount of these stocks represented intangible assets, if assets at all. In many cases these intangibles were nothing more than sanguine expectations of profits to be obtained through high pressure salesmanship or through control and manipulation of markets.

### The Bankers Responsible for the Depression

Now, the bankers are to be held directly responsible for these inflated capitalizations and for the unnecessary overhead costs that they put upon industry, for their cooperation must be obtained for the flotation of any block of securities of any consequence. Indeed, they often initiate the inflation of capital, for great profits accrue to themselves in the process. For example, for organizing the United States Steel Corporation, J. P. Morgan & Co. and their associates in the syndicate received securities which netted them \$62,500,000 in cash.

According to Brandeis and other competent authorities, we have come to such a pass that the bankers can either make or break almost any enterprise by granting or withholding credit. Since they are in so strategic a position we are justified in holding them responsible for the reckless financing of business and for the consequent debacle that we call the depression.

### What Can We Do About It?

What can we do in the face of so powerful a dictatorship? The answer is **ORGANIZE!** There can be no way out without organization. The burdens of the depression and of the readjustments that it makes necessary are being shifted in the direction of the least resistance, and woe unto those who pursue the policy of yielding to the demands of the bankers and big business generally. There is no limit to what these high pressure go-getters will take if we will accommodatingly give it to them.

Moreover, the depression has advanced to the state where teachers can see more plainly than ever before their community of interest with other workers in both public and private employment. While financial and real estate interests all over the country are demanding that teachers' salaries be cut, the American Federation of Labor reiterates its consistent stand that teachers' salaries be maintained. This organization rallies to the support of the public schools and to the defense of the teachers when a legion of other organizations demand drastic reductions in educational budgets.

Organized Labor has pointed the way out of this depression in its demand that the work day be shortened, that wages be increased, and that every one be put back to productive employment. To the despairing question, "How in the world can this be done?" Labor answers that the increased productive capacity of industry makes it possible. For one hundred and fifty years the inventors, scientists, engineers and managers have been making the world over, so that our wealth producing capacity has been multiplied thousands of times. Moreover, the progress of science is cumulative. Each step in advance gives us more power to advance still further. Power-driven machinery, scientific processes and scientific management make possible an abundance of the necessities and comforts and even of many of the luxuries for every

one. That there is so much want and unrest in this the richest country is due only to our stupidity.

### The Twilight of the Gods

We might quote the American Federation of Labor's report on the shorter work period as the handwriting on the wall foretelling the doom of the demi-gods of business:

"In response to the efficiency impulse, and dating back many years, industry has centered its efforts on increasing production through machine refinements and improved means and methods, based primarily upon labor displacement and a reduction in labor cost, without any regard to what effect this policy would have on consuming power or public welfare.

"This short-sighted policy has brought about virtual business prostration . . . This depression has come at a time when the productive agencies of our country, developed to the nth degree, have attained a capacity both actual and potential that can deluge every demand.

"The problem that confronts us is in fact a problem of plenty. The genius of man has solved and more than solved the problem of production. Today, however, with this problem of surplus and the disposition of surplus on the one hand, we find on the other some 12,000,000 workers in this country begging vainly for liberty to toil, while millions of others on part time employment must, in addition thereto, suffer intolerable wage reductions.

"These conditions must not be permitted longer to continue. To admit that this problem cannot be solved in an orderly manner would be an indictment on American common sense. For millions to suffer for lack of adequate food, clothing and shelter and to be denied work opportunities solely because of increased productive efficiency is to stamp the word defeat on our entire social system . . . We must master the machine and make it serve public welfare.

"There is no other way. If we are measurably to match production and consumption, wages must go up and the hours of labor be progressively lessened as the only answer to the machine era in which we now live. No program of social or economic reform can hope to attain success that does not embrace this economic truth as the corner stone of its reasoning."

It is hardly necessary to add that the demi-gods of business cannot think in terms like these. They can think only in terms of speculative market values and in the capitalization for private gain of any improvement in production. But those of us who work for our incomes can see the possibilities of a great forward movement instead of the present movement of aimless and indiscriminate retrenchment. Moreover, it is not strange that Labor can see the way more plainly than those who live by exploiting any situation for their own profit, for it has nothing to lose by the unhampered production of goods and services to satisfy the needs of the race, but everything to gain by it. And Labor is destined to lead the way out, for progress has always sprung from the fundamental needs of the masses.

### One Way to Keep Off the Commissary

E. B. Holmes, former school board member, has landed a nice, fat job at \$250 per month as business manager of the Seattle school district. He will take over the duties of superintendent of supplies and superintendent of grounds. The men who have filled these positions will still be kept on the payroll, it is understood.

Mr. Holmes, who has been engaged in the lumber business in the North End for a number of years, has suffered severe "financial reverses" during the past years of the depression. This job comes as one of those lucky strikes of good fortune which are occasionally mentioned in our "success" magazines. It answers the serious problem which 15,000 unemployed heads of families have not been able to solve satisfactorily.

Last spring Mr. Holmes did not "choose" to run for reelection to the School Board. The office pays no salary and he could not have held his new job and been a member at the same time. The teachers were quite willing to see Mr. Holmes step out for he had voted for the "yellow dog contract" and had taken a reactionary position on most issues.

They are not particularly happy, now that they have been forced to take two wage cuts in the interest of economy, to see a new job added to the budget.

—Seattle "Vanguard."

# The Danger to Free Public Education

Wm. J. Bogan

**T**ONIGHT I make a special appeal to fathers and mothers, especially mothers, for the support of free public education. Father may or may not fight for the rights of his children, but every mother, in all circumstances, can be depended upon to fight like a tigress for her young. I appeal to the fathers and mothers who have not the means nor the desire to give their children private education. I say to parents, therefore, that if throughout my talk you will keep in mind the need for free education for your own children, I may arouse in you a sense of the danger which threatens. My appeal is to all those who through principle or economic stress send their children to the public schools. I speak with feeling because a proud, boastful nation, dominated for years by men of power, credited with clear vision, has accepted a program of defeat. Leadership is gone—gone because it never was real. Vision is gone. Apparently it was only a bubble of conceit. Our great men who appeared to be heroic statues of bronze in the market place were washed out by the first downpour because they were merely varnished clay. Fear rules America.

In the Great War, soldiers died for democracy, believing that their sacrifice would benefit the world for all time. Teachers of America are not dying for democracy, but they are showing millions how to live for it. During the present financial crisis they are following the example of teachers all through the ages who have remained at their posts notwithstanding the hazards of poverty, pestilence and war. A famous editorial from the New York Times reinforced this idea beautifully.

"Do not let the needs of the hour, however demanding, or its burden, however heavy, or its peril, however threatening, or its sorrows or heartbreaks, make you unmindful of the defense of tomorrow, of those disciplines through which an efficient democracy is possible, through which the institutions of civilization can be perpetuated and sanctioned."

There is a special necessity for free public education today and the danger of losing many of its benefits is so great as to demand of teachers that the study of methods and means and devices be abandoned temporarily for the study of economics. Schools have been living in a fool's paradise, firm in the belief that all the nation was committed to democracy and free public education, but signs and portents on every side give warning of danger. One of these signs is the report of the May Committee which appeared in a recent edition of the London Times:

"Since the standard of education, elementary and secondary, that is being given to the child of the poor parents is already in very many cases the superior of that which the middle class parent is providing for his own child, we feel that it is time to pause."

True, few in this country openly proclaim the theories so frankly expressed by this English committee, but in private, thoughts like this are often expressed.

From the beginning of recorded history down to the present day, progress in civilization has been made possible through a continuous war for the rights of the common man against the forces of ignorance and greed. In some cases the charities of the rich became in time the rights of the poor. This was especially true of

education in our own country. Free public education not so long ago was a charity handed down by the rich. Now it has become the most precious heritage of the poor, which no social group nor government can eliminate without destroying the foundations of society itself. The withholding of educational privileges from the poor will prove disastrous. The attempt to tear down those phases of education which minister especially to the children of the poor is like staining with impious hands the sacred vessels of the temple.

The famous iconoclast, Norman Douglas, who does not believe in any form of public education, says that our public school system is a "state-controlled factory of echoes." There may be truth in this if he means that it gives social solidarity, but with the improvement in teaching methods independence of thought will also be achieved. Whatever its defects, free public education is the only hope of the common man. Primitive man would have lasted only a short time in competition with the lower and more powerful animals had not his superior brain with its great power of invention enabled him to develop a simple weapon from the branch of the tree, an invention that made him master of the animal kingdom by adding greatly to the length and power of his arms. This weapon, the club, was the greatest invention of man. The next most important invention was also a club, the school. The former protected him against the lower animals, the latter protected him against himself. It enabled the common man to take his place in the seats of the mighty.

The school in all ages has tried to meet the needs and demands of society. Hundreds of years ago when society was static this task was comparatively easy. Social and economic changes were so gradual as to be hardly noticeable over a period of centuries. Labor-saving devices were unknown and would have been unwelcome. In certain parts of the world the ancient methods of agriculture and industry still persist. One may see today the fellaheen of Egypt using the methods that were popular in the days of Moses. Children followed in the footsteps of the parents and the lowly man knew his place and kept it. Education was only for the few. It was a closed monopoly for the select and the elect. As changes in society were so very slow it was an easy matter for the schools to keep pace with them.

The modern school deals with the results of machinery, science and technology. Society demands that the schools keep up to date. The schools *must* keep pace with the demands of society. In fact, society has forced upon the schools all the modern phases of education for which they are now being criticized.

Big business in its attempt to lower costs of government should move cautiously and in accordance with the principles of wise statesmanship, for the record of big business in managing its own affairs for the past decade, does not inspire confidence in its ability to manage education. Big business seems often to claim a divine right to the possession of wealth but every student of history and economics knows that without the presence of the common man this type of divinity will not function. The rich have acquired their wealth from the common people, but many feel no urge to make return. Manhattan Island which was sold about three

hundred years ago to Peter Minuit by drunken Indians for twenty-four dollars worth of junk has increased in value to billions of dollars, not through the skill of stock jobbers, railroad manipulators, nor wreckers, but through the common people with the common needs that developed civilization. Therefore, the schools representing the common people, as well as the uncommon, resent the attempt to make free public education in America like a charity handed down from the bounty of the rich. The rich have proclaimed themselves this benefaction by impressing upon the people throughout the generations their superior rights. And now there is none so poor to do them reverence. To quote a great Chinese philosopher:

"He who stands on a pedestal has no place to step but off."

Therefore, I say that the slogan **SAVE THE SCHOOLS** strikes deeper in its implications than salaries or supplies or any other material things. The impairment of the school means the weakening of the rights of every citizen, and though in our despair of democratic government we sometimes cry for the man on horseback to save us from ourselves, we know that every vestige of liberty taken from us will be difficult to restore just as we know that some phases of democratic education eliminated in a crisis like this will never be restored.

To meet the emergency in education every friend of the public schools should let the public know how great the emergency is. Facts should be presented to the public. Parents should be taught that any reduction of efficiency in the schools means a loss to their own

children. The elimination of waste and extravagance—objectives approved by the schools—should not be used as an excuse to destroy the ideal of American citizenship, the rights of the common man. The lesson presented by Chicago may be an aid to other communities facing an emergency in education.

To many of this audience the word "Chicago" is a symbol of waste, extravagance, corruption and crime. The city has been the butt of ridicule in all parts of the world and in varying circumstances, but though many of the criticisms are leveled at her in order to distract attention from worse conditions at home, her people are fair enough to admit the truth. In fact, the inhabitants who know Chicago and love her for her human qualities are quick to reveal her faults and forget her virtues. Regardless of the truth or falsity of criticism every intelligent person knows that Chicago is forever presenting lessons to the world. Some are bad and some are good. Some of these lessons take the form of horrible examples for other communities to avoid, and some may be classified among the everlasting inspirations. To night I call to your attention the latter type of lesson, the type that has stirred the hearts of all mankind—the lesson of sacrifice presented by the teachers of the Chicago Public Schools.

Will you, the parents of pupils in our public schools, permit public education to be wrecked? The city is shamed in the eyes of the world—but we seem to lack the financial leadership that would modernize our nineteenth century revenue system, pay our debts and save our schools from destruction.

## Childhood Versus the Depression

William G. Carr

**N**O ONE can speak in Chicago about schools without first paying high tribute to the teaching, supervising and administrative staffs. Week after week, month after month of financial hardships have fallen upon this group of loyal citizens and devoted public servants. From their own slender and impaired resources they have contributed to the relief of cold and hungry children. They have gone without pay; they have been paid in depreciated scrip; their justly earned salaries are still in arrears. But the schools have stayed open. The children have been placed first; their educational rights have been remembered by the teaching profession although others have forgotten. The citizens of Chicago should take every possible and proper step to discharge in full and at the earliest possible moment the financial obligations still owing to these employees.

Schools today are being pinched between two opposing pressures, increased responsibilities and decreased resources. Unemployment and depressed business conditions generally are bringing children into the schools by the thousands. Almost every school system in the country is struggling to adjust itself to an unexpected increase in high-school enrollments. In Chicago, for instance, the increase in enrollment in 1930 and 1931 nearly doubled that of the two previous prosperity years. Climbing enrollment figures have always characterized American education, but the depression has accelerated this tendency and flooded the schools with an eager horde of children, youths and adults.

Radio address, Station WCFL, Men Teachers Union Series.

The other side of the nutcracker is the insistent demand for governmental economy. The archaic tax system which characterizes Illinois and many other states is threatening to break down entirely under the severe pressure of bad business conditions. Governmental budgets, including school budgets, must be scrutinized for every possible economy. Grave danger exists that hysterical retrenchments may penalize the children. The school budget represents a tempting target for the first broadside from the economy shotgun. It is a large single item and, on the whole, poorly defended.

Certainly no group of our citizens is less responsible for current economic conditions than the children. No group is less able to defend its own interests. No group is more likely to be imposed upon when short-sighted governmental economies become the order of the day. "One body of our citizenry," says Director Clifford of the President's Organization on Employment Relief, "remains immune from all blame and responsibility in the difficulties with which we are faced . . . I refer to the children. Public machinery directed to the protection of childhood should be the last to be affected by measures of economy. Let us everywhere be on guard against any retrenchment which pinches the youth."

*On guard* is indeed the proper watchword. It is high time for American parents to look to the foundations of their public schools. Already serious reductions in school services have been brought about and more are threatened. Summer schools are being discontinued. Night schools are being closed. Children are being sent home from kindergartens. Special educational opportunities for the crippled and other unfortun-

ate children are being denied. School districts are refusing to purchase the supplies and text-books needed for instruction. School terms are being shortened. School budgets are being reduced, not by small amounts in many cases, but by drastic and ill-considered slashes. Too many children are being crowded into a single classroom. The teachers' load is being increased. Experienced teachers are being alienated from the profession by arbitrary, ill-considered and often unnecessary reductions in salaries. The supervisory staffs of city and county school systems are being reduced. School buildings stand in want of repair while jobless carpenters walk the streets. Badly needed new school plants are left unfinished. School libraries are ordering no new books. School nurses are being discharged and other health services of the schools are being discontinued. Playgrounds and other community activities are being closed. Social work and individual counseling in the schools are being so limited that they can no longer function effectively in the guidance of boys and girls.

Does this seem like an unduly pessimistic picture? It is neither pessimistic nor optimistic; it is factual. Abundant evidence exists to prove every one of the statements just made. Of course, neither Chicago nor any other single community has effected every one of these curtailments in school services. But Chicago's schools have suffered heavily. And unless wise and constructive policies prevail, other retrenchments will follow.

What can be done? Every parent should make his influence clearly and strongly felt against unnecessary reductions in school budgets. Every parent should discuss the schools with his friends and neighbors, not as a political or financial issue, but as one of the major responsibilities of the community. Parent-teacher associations must face the issue squarely. In many cities, the school superintendent with his associates is fighting almost a lone hand in behalf of the educational opportunities of the children. If school people resist the harmful slashes in the public budget too earnestly, they are likely to be called selfish. The children are bound to lose unless you and the other parents of your community come to the assistance of the school leaders. You must do so quickly and vigorously if you wish to maintain school efficiency.

You will be told that schools are costing too much. How much is too much? Is five per cent of the national income too much to spend for the schooling of your boys and girls, the development of a trained citizenry and the conservation of the nation's human resources? The schools do not absorb as much as five per cent of the national income even in this time of restricted economic activity. Figures for this year are not yet available, but we do know that in 1930 the cost of all public schools, elementary, secondary and collegiate, was *less than four per cent* of the national income. Schools cost less than three per cent of the estimated income of the State of Illinois. Furthermore, this per cent is not "rapidly increasing." It remained practically constant for a decade prior to 1928.

The school bill and the tobacco bill are about equal. The bill for passenger automobiles in Illinois is five times the bill for public schools. All the public schools in America could have been run from 1776 to 1932 for less than the World War cost us. Parents and others who believe sincerely in the need for good schools are not likely to put must stock in the cry that schools are too expensive.

When a man is confronted with a lowered income and

the necessity of spending less money he asks himself two questions: 'What expenditures are essential? What expenditures can be postponed? Let us apply these two questions to the cost of public schools.

Good public schools are essential. The support of education is a first responsibility in a democratic government. Unless we are prepared to desert the American democratic ideal and to scuttle the American standard of living, we dare not deny every child his birth-right to an adequate educational opportunity. Even corporations and those individual taxpayers who do not have children of their own must contribute a fair quota to the support of public education. This is a settled American principle which we dare not desert if we expect our democracy to endure. Schools are the insurance policy of democracy. We economize on education at our peril. Let no one tell you that good schools are a luxury. They are an economic and social necessity.

But times are hard. Can we not postpone the proper expenditures for schools until a better day? School expenditures cannot be postponed. The education that you deny today to any child is lost forever.

You cannot say to a fifteen-year old boy, "Next year we shall give you a fine new junior high school. Next year we shall see about revising your instruction in citizenship and health. Next year we shall buy you the best teaching service available in the state." For that boy, next year's education never comes. Next year that boy will be at work in a factory or in a shop if society is lucky. If society is unlucky, that boy may be in the reform school or in the morning line-up of young gangsters in some local police court. Even if the boy remains in school, the year is lost forever. You can nearly always postpone that new highway, the replacement of that bridge, the new street lights in the suburban district, a new car for the fire chief, and hundreds of other governmental purchases, but education is a continuous process and must be financed continuously. President Hoover has insisted that,

However the national economy may vary or whatever fiscal adjustments may need be made, the very first obligation upon the National resources is the undiminished support of the public schools. We cannot afford to lose any ground in education. That is neither economy nor good government.

Parents should insist that no reduction be permitted in necessary school expenditures until everything possible has been done to reduce inefficient and wasteful expenditures in other branches of government, to distribute the cost of education fairly over the entire tax-paying ability of the state, and to postpone expenditures for those governmental services which can be postponed.

The fine educational opportunities enjoyed by your children today have not come about by accident. They have been built up, against the bitter opposition of class interests, over a long period of time. Every step of progress has been contested by ignorance and selfishness. Taxation for schools, the abolition of tuition charges, the free public high school, the state university and every other worthwhile reform represents a hard fought battle. Today all that has been won stands in peril. Public education is our first and last line of national defense. It is now being attacked. Will the parents of America do their plain duty in defending it?

**Wildwood (N. J.) Teachers Get Pay in Scrip.**—Fifty-five teachers comprising the staff of the public schools here have received their September salaries in scrip. The three banks refused to honor the scrip, while merchants were hesitant in making known whether they would accept it.

# Banking and Bankers

John P. Frey

**I**F IT were not for the important questions that this Convention must consider in connection with resolutions coming before it, dealing with depression, the steps necessary to bring about recovery, I would not be tempted, as I have been, to bring to your attention some facts connected with banking in the United States with which I feel all trade unionists should be thoroughly familiar. Unless we understand some of these facts we shall not be in a position to deal as thoroughly with some of our problems as we should be if the information was at hand. I have no intention of discussing banking theory or banking practice as it is taught in the universities and the text books, but rather to call your attention to the manner in which the banking industry in our country has been conducted, until today it not only dominates the giving of credit and the withholding of credit, but dominates business and industrial policies and actually determines whether corporations will reduce the hours of labor, whether they will increase or reduce wages, and goes even further and determines what newspapers and magazines shall publish on industrial problems and what they must keep out of their columns.

Preliminary to some statistical matter which I desire to get into the record, even though it may weary you, I should like to call your attention to the wonderful accomplishment of the American bankers. There is in circulation in our country approximately five billion dollars of legal tender. All of the silver coinage, all of the bills, all of the gold coinage which is in circulation to carry on business amounts to five billion of dollars. Yet the bankers of our country, after 1919, were successful in loaning between seventeen and eighteen billions of dollars to foreign countries, and in addition to that were able to add to the internal investment structure of our country some forty-four and a half billions of dollars.

Now as an evidence of their capacity, think for a moment of that five billions of legal tender in the United States and the fact that they could then loan some eighteen billions of dollars to foreign countries and add some forty-four billion to an already top-heavy international investment structure.

Our banks more than any other group in the country have been responsible for the inflation in prices which has taken place. These bankers are responsible for the overcapitalization, for the floating of unsound bonds, for the making of loans which were not justified, because a part of their profits is the commission they received for floating bonds and for making loans. As I go into the statistical matter which I have prepared I would like to have you keep in mind that the holding companies in the United States, that type of company, association or corporation which began to develop rapidly after the war and which secured such a control over the profits they made, so that they could siphon off the profits of the corporation unto their own pockets—these holding companies have been in many cases owned outright

by the large commercial banks of the United States. I said that those bankers, particularly the large commercial banks, have dominated industrially and commercially, having the last word to say as to what hours of labor should be and what the wage reductions should be. Let me give you one or two illustrations of how this works.

There is the classical story of Ginsberg, the cloak and suit man, who went to his banker to borrow \$50,000. The banker, after looking him over for a little while, said, "Mr. Ginsberg, I can not make the loan. I have already loaned you \$100,000, and no more of the credit of this bank is going into your business." Ginsberg said, "Do you mean that?" And the banker replied, "I certainly do." Ginsberg said, "Do you understand the cloak and suit business?" And the banker said, "Of course not." And Ginsberg replied, "Then you had better learn the trade in a hurry because you are already in the cloak and suit business."

My attention to the part which the banker plays in dominating industrial policies came through a conference which I had with a banker whose name is unnecessary for my purpose. At one time he had been the receiver of a very large foundry. I had gone to him to secure a settlement for my own trade; I had not succeeded. I found him one of the most hard-boiled men to talk to that I ever interviewed. But just before I met him on this last occasion he had taken a very deep interest in the question of wages and was supporting the position of the American Federation of Labor, adopted at our Atlantic City Convention in 1925, which was to the effect that industry and commerce must suffer unless the real wage, the purchasing power of wages, kept pace with industry's increasing capacity to produce. When he told me he approved of that declaration of the Atlantic City Convention I asked him how a hard-boiled banker, such as he had been, could take that position. He said, "Frey, I have learned from experience. I am a mechanical engineer by profession as well as a banker. I became an engineer first. A banking corporation, a private bank of which I am a partner, developed the business of loaning to large corporations, the minimum loan being \$500,000, and when a corporation desired a loan I was sent as the engineer of my banking company to make a physical examination of the plant and study the company's business, the company's markets, and then when we made the loan it was understood that I had to go on the Board of Directors and remain on that Board until the company had repaid the principal and the interest. Finally I found that I was a member of the Board of Directors of twenty-seven manufacturing corporations, several of them the largest of their kind in the United States, some of them in competition with each other. We had made a loan of \$20,000,000 to one corporation, and to secure that loan the corporation had been compelled to make me president, and I began to wonder how these corporations would ever secure the money to pay back the loans we had made to them. The more I studied that problem the more I studied the home market and the foreign market, the more I became convinced that as the banker was carrying on business he was

committing suicide and leading the corporations along with him."

That was why this man, from his experience as a director of many corporations, representing his own bank, had come to the conclusion that the bankers should have some sound understanding at least of the industrial problem in this country.

Just one more word about how the bankers work, because it is all important that we should understand it, that the business men should understand it, that the public should understand it as well. In the late fall of 1930 two well-known bankers declared that unless wages were reduced there could be no recovery from the depression. They took a position which was in direct conflict with that of the agreement reached in the White House in November, 1929, when the representatives of the big industries of our country and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor agreed that wages must be maintained, because if the consuming power of the country was destroyed business would be injured still more.

The first note of opposition with that position came from the banks, and the first one who spoke was Mr. Albert H. Wiggins, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chase National Bank, a gentleman whose connections I will bring before you very shortly. And supporting him was Mr. Stevenson, the President of the American Bankers' Association. Some of us may have believed that when these bankers spoke they were expressing their personal opinions for the purpose of influencing the public to a policy they felt was sound. In reality, before they had made that statement and afterwards, they were compelling the corporations whose credit they supplied to fall in line with their program for industrial recovery.

One more illustration to show how they work—and you notice I am not mentioning names just now, because some of these business men who were sandbagged would not care to have it advertised. But one of the largest publishing houses in this country, a publishing house with some twenty-five or twenty-six weekly and monthly magazines devoted exclusively to commerce and industry, had very ardently supported the White House program in November, 1929, and after Mr. Wiggins had informed the public that wages must be reduced, after Mr. Stevenson, the President of the American Bankers' Association, had endorsed that position, this publishing house continued to support the position that any reduction in wages was fatal to commerce and to industry, that if anything was necessary to bring about recovery it was to increase rather than diminish the consuming capacity of the American people.

Early in 1931, some three months after Mr. Wiggins had made his first public statement, he sent for the economist of this great publishing house and asked him in a most brusque manner what he and his publications meant by continuing to advocate no reductions in wages after the bankers had said that a reduction in wages must come, and he wound up his interview with this representative, who is also the economist of this great publishing house, by saying, "All of your publications depend upon advertising. If you think you can get advertising and run counter to our program, go ahead." So the next issue of that publishing house's publications said nothing at all about wages and has not discussed the matter since, because they knew that if the great commercial banks said, "You are going counter to our program," it

would mean that their publishing business would immediately dry up.

Now with that very brief and elementary picture of how the bankers in our country have dominated business policies and industrial policies, determining more than the corporations themselves whether wages would go up or down, whether the hours of labor would be shortened, I will present a very condensed statement of how it works. We have many types of banks, of course, in this country, but they can be roughly divided into two—the private banker and the commercial banker. The private banker is represented by such concerns as Brown Brothers; Dillon, Read & Company; Goldman, Sachs & Company; Kuhn, Loeb & Company; Lee Higginson & Company; J. P. Morgan & Company; J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation; J. & W. Seligman & Company and others. I have broken down the record of sixteen of these private banks. When I first began to look around for the methods by which the banker accomplished his purpose I went to the Treasury Department and there was no information to be secured there about the private banker. I went to the Federal Reserve and they had no data, and I discovered that nowhere in Washington and nowhere in any other city in the United States was there any record of the business which the private banker carried on. He holds no license from the state, he holds no charter from the state or Federal Government, he merely has set himself up in business as a private individual and makes reports to no one. So these great private bankers who dominate the large commercial banks report to no one at the present time and there is no means by which we can know how they carry on their business. All we can know is the men through whom they do these things.

I have in this list sixteen of the leading private bankers, with their offices in New York, and I find that these sixteen bankers hold directorships in seventy of the largest commercial banks of New York and immediate vicinity, and that in addition to having this control over the commercial banks through the directors who sit on them, they also hold 1,065 directorships in aviation, public utilities, railroad and other transportation, manufacturing, commercial and other corporations. So that directly the representatives of the sixteen private banks sit on the Board of Directors of the leading commercial banks of New York City and on the Board of Directors of our largest corporations.

They do a great deal more than that. These commercial banks on whose Boards of Directors the partners of the private banks sit make much of their profit through the bond issues and the loans which the private bankers float. The private banker does not put up his money. The commercial banks, that is, the large commercial banks in New York City, do not put up their money. When a foreign country or a foreigner or a domestic corporation or individual desires to borrow a very large amount of money he does not get legal tender, he gets credit, and the private banker, through his control of the Boards of Directors of commercial banks, in turn passes out his credit which they loan and for which they get paid through the small banker and through those of us in the United States who buy bonds and put up money for first mortgages.

Perhaps it might be interesting to see what a few of those bank directorships really are. Brown Brothers

has as one of its partners a director of the Central Hanover Bank & Trust Company, another a partner in Greenwich Savings Bank, another a partner in the Bank for Savings in the City of New York. Another is a partner in the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, another a director both in the City Bank Farmers Trust Company and the Union Banking Corporation, another in the New York Trust Company, another in the Bank of New York & Trust Company, and the Grace National Bank of New York. One is doing still better, he is a member of the Board of Directors of the Commercial National Bank & Trust Company of New York, of the Empire City Savings Bank and of the Union Banking Corporation. Another is a director in the City Bank Farmers Trust Company. I have told you of the private bank of Brown Brothers, Harriman & Company, with directorships in 14 of the largest commercial banks in New York City.

Dillon, Read & Company hold directorships in nine of the commercial banks; Goldman, Sachs & Company in five of these national banks; Hallgarten & Company in two; Kissel, Kennicott & Company only two; Kuhn, Loeb & Company hold but four, but those four are the International Acceptance Bank, Inc., the Manhattan Company, the Chase National Bank and the Equitable Trust Company. I do not need to give all of these, but the House of Morgan holds 12 directorships in the commercial banks, and these banks are the First Security Company of New York City, the Guarantee Trust Company of New York City, the Bankers Trust Company of New York City, the Bank for Savings in the City of New York, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, the New York Trust Company, the Bankers Trust Company, the Corn Exchange Bank Trust Company. They also have a directorship in the Chase National Bank and the Chase Securities Company.

I find by going through the directorships held by the partners in these private banks that most of them tie up with the Chase National Bank, so that when the Chase National Bank speaks on an industrial problem it is the private banker as well as the Chase National Bank that is speaking, but these partners do not care to do the errand-boy work, they are too important in the banking industry and in their own estimation to do that. They use the directors of the large commercial banks to do that.

Taking a list of eight of the largest commercial banks in New York City we find that the directors of those banks hold 3,741 directorships in public utility, aviation, railroad, manufacturing, steamship and commercial corporations. So that when these eight banks on whose Boards of Directors the private bankers sit desire to carry out any policy they immediately have a directorship in 3,741 American corporations to see that it is enforced.

We are disturbed over securities. Our insurance companies were so disturbed over their resources which consist largely of securities that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was called into existence. As I give you a few more statistics you will see where the banker has fit into the scene. The Bank of America National Association holds 22 directorships in aviation companies, 25 directorships in banks, 137 in miscellaneous corporations, 21 in insurance companies, 78 in manufacturing corporations, 22 in transportation companies and 40 in utility corporations.

The Bank of Manhattan Trust Company does a

little better. It has directors in 38 other commercial banks, in 183 miscellaneous corporations, in 25 insurance companies, in 61 manufacturing corporations, in 24 transportation companies and in 31 public utilities.

I don't want to weary you by reading through the list of all these banks, but I want to give you just one, because this is the bank more than any other which has been responsible for the political agitation for legislation to which the American Federation of Labor has been vigorously opposed, because it was the leader in demanding that wages should be reduced—the Chase National Bank, with Mr. Wiggins the Chairman of its Board of Directors, Mr. Wiggins, who served notice on the largest publisher of a certain type of magazines that if he did not withdraw his advocacy of no reduction in wages he would lose his advertising.

This is the picture of the Chase National Bank. The directors of that bank hold directorships in 69 other commercial banks, in 262 miscellaneous corporations, in 55 insurance companies. All told, 82 of their directors are directors in insurance companies but they want to dominate some, so in the Metropolitan Insurance Company six directors of the Chase National Bank are directors of that great insurance company. The directors of this bank are also on the Boards of Directors of 236 manufacturing corporations. This is not the time to give you the list, but it includes practically every large manufacturing corporation in the United States. Every one of them is listed in the Board of Directors on which this bank's directors sit whenever the boards meet. They also have 133 directorships in transportation companies. This list of transportation companies is the list of the principal railroad systems of the United States, and in addition to that they have directors in 73 of the largest public utility corporations in the United States, some of which they own, like the Chase-Forbes-Harris Corporation, which has succeeded in selling so many sour bonds to Americans who thought they were making a good investment.

Just one thought more, because I have already transgressed too much upon your time. You have the picture before you now of how the private banker has been able to filter into directorships of the commercial banks and dominate their policies. You have seen how these commercial banks, through their directors, sit on the Boards of Directors of thousands of the largest manufacturing, transportation and public utility and other corporations in the country.

Now let us go behind the scenes just for a moment and you will have a better understanding of why the bankers became frantic some months ago. They had always resented any interference with their business, they demanded that Uncle Sam himself go into the credit loaning business and that there must be something like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to save them. Their securities had depreciated in value. They had been selling them and those to whom they had sold were in trouble; one of the largest sources for the placing of these securities had been the big insurance companies of our country, some of which were on the point of being unable to continue business because their resources had been depreciated too greatly. I read to you a number of insurance companies upon which the directors of these commercial banks have sat. Now picture the private banker financing all of these corporations with his partners on the Boards of Directors of the large commercial

banks, the necessity of floating millions and millions of bonds to those who would buy them, and then the break-down that came in the Boards of Directors of the commercial banks at a meeting at which the commercial bank told its directors, "We have so many million or billion dollars' worth of bonds to dispose of," and then these same bank directors sitting on the Boards of Directors of the largest insurance companies of our country ramming down the insurance companies' throats the bonds that the big private banking houses had said must be sold.

With this picture before you I am sure you will

realize our problem is somewhat different than when we dealt with the individual employer and corporation itself and had to go before the Board of Directors. At the present time the bankers in New York City, through this interlocking machinery they have built up, are the ones to tell these corporations what their industrial policies shall be, so that one of our problems is not only to deal with the employer directly, we must deal with this banking system that has siphoned off the wealth of the country and is more responsible for the frightful suffering we are passing through than any other group of business men.

## "S m o k e"

William T. McCoy

PIONEER AMERICA insisted on schools, and the pioneers, despite the romances and historical novels, did not lead idyllic lives. They lived in log huts, sometimes with earthen floors; they dressed in skins of wild animals because they could not afford cloth; their food was just what they could win by strenuous effort from forest and field. Often their equipment for living was limited to an axe, a rifle and a few rude household implements. Dollars were rarities and hard to come by. Our grandfathers, no matter how poor they were, made every sacrifice that their children might have schooling. The people's schools were supported at any cost. Teachers in pioneer schools boarded around. Of course these teachers were poorly paid and were employed only a few months in winter, but the financial burden of the schools upon the pioneers was relatively many times higher than the cost of schools to the taxpayer today.

Something of this determination to have schools still persists in parts of America. There are towns in the Dakotas which tax themselves for schools alone five times as much as our total rate for all state and local taxes, and this is done without complaint and as a matter of course. It is done because the people estimate the value to themselves and to their children of a good education higher than any other objective value whatever. In New York last week the state legislature agreed to the revocation of laws fixing the salaries of all public employees EXCEPT TEACHERS. New York City recognized the value and necessity of free education.

In Chicago, either this determination to maintain public education has been lost or the people have not yet reached the point of conviction that their schools are being ruined. Evanston, Wilmette, Winnetka and a long list of parasitic townlets built up by wealthy men all around Chicago are marks on the map of the desire of these men to profit by carrying on their business in Chicago and at the same time to escape their due share in the burdens and responsibilities of citizenship. Chicago is a good field for them to exploit in building up enormous fortunes for themselves, but not good enough for them to live in and send their children to its schools.

This sort of divorce calls for alimony. These rich men have established private schools in which their own children must have every luxurious detail of modern and progressive education. Why should they care (they ask) what sort of schools are maintained for the children of the people.

There is more than indifference in the attitude of these men. They have foreseen the day in the development of America when there will be a sharper com-

petition in all callings. The frontier has passed away. The desirable land has been homesteaded. Cheap lands will soon be a memory. Business, trade and transportation tend constantly to greater mergers and consequently to fewer desirable positions of good rank and good pay. The professions and the higher industrial positions are the points where the prizes for individuals will be won. These prizes will be won by those who have the ability plus the training. A public school system which provides for the children of all the people the elements of training offered in the costly private schools maintained by the privileged wealthy makes it possible for the child of a poor man to compete on equal terms with a rich man's son. To the rich and privileged this is unbearable. They have not enough advantage from their wealth. They will not play the game unless the dice are loaded in their favor. They are unwilling that the child of the poor man shall have an even chance so far as schooling is concerned.

It is easy for these men of wealth and power to make their will felt. A national Chamber of Commerce is correlating and directing the assault of local chambers of commerce on public school systems. "Citizens' Committees for the control of public expenditures" are formed in every important community and a combined and uniform and furious assault has been aimed at the expenditures for public education in a hundred cities at once.

That such an assault can be made upon the people's schools in Chicago without rousing the people to immediate and effective defense of them is due to two unusual conditions arising out of the stoppage of tax revenues and out of the depression and unemployment. These two conditions have combined to put the Board of Education at the mercy of the bankers; and the bankers must obey the orders of the big business leaders. Since the Board has been without tax revenues for several years, it would naturally expect to make use of its credit through the sale of tax anticipation warrants like every other government in Cook County. For many years Chicago banks have purchased similar warrants willingly, without question and without limit, except that imposed by law on the issuer. But for a year past the banks have utterly refused to purchase warrants or to cooperate in any way with the Board of Education in its sincere effort to finance the schools. They have avoided a blank refusal by setting up various reasons why they did not care to "risk depositors' money." There was no risk, there is none and there can be none in the purchase of school board warrants by the banks. At the time when their vaults were full of bonds and other

securities of private corporations selling on the market at less than fifty cents on the dollar of supposed value, school warrants on the same market were about seventy-five. Private corporations have behind their paper only the limited resources of the corporation. School board warrants are a full faith and credit first lien on every cent of real and personal property in the city of Chicago. They cannot fail to be paid unless all government ceases in the city and state.

These facts are fairly obvious to everyone; therefore, the bankers had to have more specious excuses for their failure to finance the schools of their city during an emergency. There was a tax strike on. A little sly encouragement to the promoters would tend to prolong the strike. The Cisar and Bister suits were useful also as field work behind which the bankers could entrench themselves. Then the N. S. F. law presented itself as a further possible defense. So through the weary months the sham battle went on. Each stronghold stormed was abandoned for another entrenchment in the rear. Time was the strong ally of the Citizens' Committee and the bankers. "The wicked school board, which wasted the people's money" was the man of straw over whose shoulder the Citizens' Committee struck blow after blow at the vitals of the public schools. A budget of \$103,000,000.00 for 1932 represented the lowest per capita cost of education of any great city in the United States. Under the attack of the Citizens' Committee, the Board cut this \$18,000,000.00. That was a greater cut than was proposed or accepted by the city or county budgets; it should have satisfied every reasonable demand for emergency economy. Instead, it merely whetted the appetites of the Citizens' Committee to demand another huge slash which they unblushingly placed at thirty or forty millions. The Board made an additional slash of \$15,000,000.00 which reduced its original figures by about one-third. This could be done and was done only by reducing the salaries of teachers whose pay was then nearly a year in arrears, by denying pay to sick teachers, by cutting off night, vacation and continuation schools, by eliminating adult education, by denying the schools the necessary materials of instruction and by halting the building of new schools.

The interesting and alarming facts about all this assault upon tax supported public services are that it can be made at all, that it can be made to center upon the public schools and that it can be made without rousing any effective public protest. That it is unjustly centered upon the schools can be shown, I believe, very surely and briefly. In all the scandals and charges of graft and waste which have gathered about the various governments, only two directed at the School Board have been based upon facts, i. e., that certain public schools erected or contracted for under a former administration had been too costly and that the operative costs have recently been too large due to an excess of janitorial help in the schools. That there has been any waste of public funds in the instructional department has not been pretended by anyone. Yet it is exactly upon the instruction department that the burden of enormous reductions has been laid.

Another fact: although the Strayer Survey found only \$1,700,000.00 of excess expenditure in the operative department and a huge deficiency in expenditures for instruction in the 1932 budget, the Citizens' Committee forced reductions of thirty-three millions of dollars upon the Board of Education mostly in the instruction department. Without the guilt of "whoopie expenditures" such as were brought home to the sanitary district, without any million dollar bridle paths to account for,

the Board of Education was forced to cut 28% while the city cut only 17% and the county 4% in their budgets. This iniquitous discrimination against the schools would be bad enough under any conditions. It is astounding when you consider that the Chicago school system ranks far below all other important cities in its per capita expenditure for education and that its teachers are *notoriously underpaid and overloaded*.

The most sinister feature of the Citizens' Committee is the fact that for the first time in American history in a peaceful and well organized community it marked the advent of arbitrary force deliberately exerted by an intelligent group in opposition to lawful authority. This is revolution and this example will not be lost on larger and more dangerous and more determined elements on other occasions even more critical. If our self-selected leaders in the privileged classes set the example of overturning the authority of the legislature which fixes the tax rate, of the Board of Education which levies it, and of the duly elected officers who spread and collect and administer it—if they, representing a small and hostile group, set at naught the will of the whole people as expressed by their lawfully constituted representatives and officials—then the beginning of the end of popular representative government in America has been reached and our people must choose between the acceptance of an oligarchy in government and the defense of their political rights.

Now to explain my title—SMOKE. Economists and other authorities on finance have estimated that the entire cost of public education in Chicago is less than ten cents a day for each adult in Chicago—the price of a cigar. America now spends annually less for its public school system than for its bill for tobacco and candies, for cosmetics and amusements, for replacement of stolen and worn out automobiles and for a number of other items in the national budget.

If the Citizens' Committee really has your support, you place ahead of education for American boys and girls all the items of expenditure I have listed above, besides the real necessities of food and clothing and shelter. We pay out for the public utilities more than the salaries of all our teachers—and we do not note any reduction in the payments we must make for gas, electric light or telephone.

Pioneer America cut into its necessities to provide schooling. Today we prefer chewing gum, radio, the movies, good roads, transportation, synthetic liquors, newspapers, etc.—that is, we prefer all these if we follow the lead of the Citizens' Committee. They assure us that we can no longer afford to support the quality or the quantity of education which we developed. And we believe them while spending ten times as much for a long list of luxuries, or worse. Smoke—only smoke, friends, but the perilous screen under which creeps the deadly fire which is now consuming the fabric of your school system.

Last week the Board of Education was forced to agree to still further reductions in its levies so that upon your public schools and upon them alone a total cut is proposed, on the basis of the estimates for 1932, of fully half. The *teachers* cannot save your schools. They have done all they can. The *Board of Education* cannot save them. No one can save them but an aroused people and *now* is the time. The alternative is for Chicago to face an astonished world next year with its costly Century of Progress in the foreground and a wrecked and ruined school system in the background—an idiot's gesture truly!

## Toledo Teachers Subjected to Coercion

The Toledo News-Bee has made public one of the most brazen attempts ever made by local politicians, to browbeat and coerce workers into giving up their moral and legal rights as citizens.

This expose of political interference with the rights of American citizens came out after an organization of school teachers known as "The School Men's Club," in an effort to protect their own and the public's interest, interviewed candidates of both parties as to their stand on certain public questions, and then issued endorsements of those candidates who, in the judgment of these teachers, were the best qualified to fill the offices.

The Executive Committee of this teachers' organization presented to a Parent-Teachers' meeting a letter setting up a plea for maintaining the present high standards of education in our school system. They also asked for officials, "to further the economic use of the taxpayers' dollars by a more equitable distribution of the funds to be spent by each of the three branches of our local government, thus insuring each of sufficient funds for proper functioning."

In addition to the letter, which, from what we are able to gather from various sources, was a simple statement of facts, they intended to issue slips to the teachers with the names of those candidates for office who had shown by answers to questions that they would be favorable to the best interests as propounded by the teachers' committee. If our understanding of this question is correct, these slips with the names of endorsed candidates were to be sent out prior to election. Inasmuch as none of these endorsing slips have been found anywhere around the city by our investigator, it is fair to assume that the political threat against our Toledo school teachers had the desired effect. We understand from the publicity given by the News-Bee, that Mr. Harry Haskell, a member of the board of education, is reported to have said: "There will be hell popping," if the School Men's Club failed to withdraw the slate of candidates the club had endorsed for county offices.

We are also given to understand that this same Mr. Haskell took the power of dictator upon himself to the extent of saying that teachers had no business meddling in politics. On Nov. 8th the News-Bee carried another story entitled, "Schools Enter Politics Again." The story told of the activity of Mr. Haskell member of the board of education in sending communications to school teachers asking their support for Stephen Brophy, a candidate for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. According to the story, not only did this local dictator ask for the teachers' vote but asked them to pass out cards for this candidate for judge. We would pay little or no attention to this action on the part of Mr. Haskell if he had not already gone on record as denying the teachers the right of doing just the very thing he later asked them to do. We do question the right of this man Haskell, however, to use the power of his official position to coerce school teachers upon political questions. From the reports presented in the columns of the News-Bee, if they are correct even in a small measure, we condemn this member of the board of education, Mr. Haskell, for playing dirty as well as petty politics.

We maintain that any man or woman elected to the position held by Haskell has no authority over the political or religious activity of teachers outside the school building. We further maintain that this same man stultified his office by a deliberate attempt to coerce the teachers of Toledo. We also feel sure that if the teachers were organized under the banner of the American Fed-

eration of Teachers which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, this local dictator would have been told where to head in. When conditions exist such that the teachers of a city the size of Toledo are forced through fear of their jobs to bow their heads in submission to a cheap and arrogant politician, it is high time that they began to screw up a little courage and started asking for an organizer of the Teachers' Union to visit the city. Of course, we feel sure that the calling in of an organizer by any teacher or small group of teachers would be the immediate signal for the board of education to start a drive against the jobs of the few daring souls.

We have little or no faith in any democratic or truly American spirit in the present board.

We have a very high opinion of Mrs. Ruby Crampton as a member of the board and feel that she can be depended upon to stand for the rights of the teachers whenever all of the facts are properly presented, but one member does not liberalize the Toledo Board of Education. If the Toledo teachers were members of the Teachers' Union there would be no danger of a Mr. Haskell, or any other member of the school board, trying to coerce or bull-doze them. School teachers could then politely but firmly tell all members of the board who were inclined to use arrogantly their official position to destroy the teachers' constitutional rights as free citizens, just to go and jump into the lake. Well, we may get busy and educate the educators as to how they may maintain their freedom.

—Toledo Union Leader.

## Chattanooga Labor Offers Aid to Teachers

WHEREAS, The program of wage slashing of all county employes, regardless of justice and equity, as promulgated by Judge Cummings, is unsound and unfair; and,

WHEREAS, Since the wages of school teachers, those already miserly paid mainsprings of the rearing of our American youth, will be still further reduced in order to alleviate the suffering of our millionaires; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Chattanooga Trades and Labor Council resents and protests, reasons and demands, that if school teachers' wages are affected in any way that it be on an increasing basis, regardless of whether today's dollars can buy more Packard automobiles, \$85,000 homes, or gold bathtubs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Chattanooga Trades and Labor Council hereby brings attention to the school teachers themselves that we welcome them in any effort that they may make to help themselves, rather than sitting supinely by, crying for justice and aid.

## Our Opportunity

(Continued from page 3)

As discouraging as past attempts to get teachers to organize have been, it is possible that the seriousness of the menace and the greatness of the cause will call forth the latent intelligence and leadership that must exist in so great a body of people as the teachers in the American public schools.

The members of the American Federation of Teachers owe it to themselves and the children if not to the great mass of indifferent teachers, and certainly owe it to the public school system of America and, yes, to the civilization that rests upon that system, to make a supreme effort to carry an organization message to the unorganized teachers.

# Democracy in Education

## American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

### President

HENRY R. LINVILLE, New York Local 5;  
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### Secretary-Treasurer

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FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON

Executive Editor

Publisher

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## Mourn Not the Dead

*Mourn not the dead that in the cool  
earth lie—*

*Dust unto dust—*

*The calm, sweet earth that mothers  
all who die*

*As all men must;*

*But rather mourn the apathetic  
throng—*

*The cowed and the meek—*

*Who see the world's great anguish  
and its wrong*

*And dare not speak.*

—Chaplin.

## Shall We Economize, Too?

The Post Office Department has decided to charge publishers for notification of changes of address in mailing lists. Hence the AMERICAN TEACHER pays when you move and don't tell us. Every misdirected magazine costs us six cents in addition to original mailing cost. You can have a better magazine and help us out by dropping us a line when your address changes. Thanks.

## Teachers and Taxes

The reactionary forces which have been in control of business affairs and have made a mess of them are trying to shift the blame for our sorry plight to the shoulders of government. The chief difficulty of government today is that due to the business depression the incomes of the people have been reduced about forty per cent under the management of these reactionary business leaders. The incomes of the masses of the people who pay most of the costs of government have been reduced by even a greater percentage and they are unable to support the cost of government.

All those who serve the public in any capacity are dubbed tax-eaters and therefore are to be classed as public enemies. The way out according to these big business leaders is to reduce the cost of government by eliminating some of its important functions and to reduce the salaries and the number of public employees.

The advocacy of the anarchistic plans for the destruction of government must provide considerable amusement and possibly hope for Emma Goldman and her friends who were driven from the country some years ago for advocating doctrines that would have similar results. Perhaps there is some connection between present tendencies and the renewed attempt of the former Queen of the Reds to be readmitted to the United States. She would add a conservative touch to some of the more violent "citizens' committees" that are busily engaged in tearing down governmental institutions.

One of the major objectives of the unsocial forces is to destroy a part of the government and to shift the entire cost of the support of the remainder from their shoulders to those of others. The substitution of the sales tax for income taxes is the principal method offered to effect this desired change.

There has been great suffering among the wealthier classes during the depression. Statistics have been given to show that the number of persons who have incomes of more than \$100,000 annually has decreased from ten thousand to four thousand. This is a tragedy beside which the fact that 12,000,000 unemployed have lost all their income is trivial. That decreased wages and part time work have reduced another 12,000,000 to the verge of destitution is not worth

mentioning.

The ten thousand or four thousand must be relieved. Many of them have been reduced to incomes of less than \$50,000. Those who still remain in the hundred thousand dollar class are taxed shamefully. In many cases they are compelled to pay nearly one tenth as much in taxes as an Englishman of equal wealth must give to support his government. Their tax burden must be shifted to the whole people including the 12,000,000 out of work.

The vehicle for shifting this tax burden is the sales tax. Of course, the millionaire will pay according to his consumptive expenditures, so will the farmer who produces his goods for less than cost if he is not too hard up to buy. The worker whose wages have been cut and who is working a day or two per week will pay. The destitute unemployed will pay by having a small deduction made from the amount of his relief. The same amount of money for relief purposes will not buy as much food after the tax is deducted.

The principal argument for the sales tax advanced by its proponents is that it is easy to pay as it is done in installments and that it will not be noticed because it is indirect. This is particularly true in the case of the person who has been relieved of a heavy income tax. Those living on the edge of starvation may notice even one less loaf of bread per week. It is possible that those who are thrown out of work because of further contraction in buying power caused by this tax may notice the effect of this tax very keenly. Of course he may not be intelligent enough to connect the loss of his job with this tax on consumption.

Every known device to make the sales tax popular is being used. It is attached to popular causes. It is to be used for unemployment relief, for education.

Teachers should be wary and not advocate a "sales tax to save the schools." The people who want the sales tax are not interested in saving the schools. If the schools become the chief beneficiaries of a sales tax, other sources of taxation will be relieved of the necessity of caring for education and taxes from these sources will be monopolized by other governmental functions. The inevitable reaction against the unfairness

# Education for Democracy

and unjustness of the sales tax will endanger not only the revenue raised by it but also its chief beneficiaries.

The real friends of the schools and the teachers in the schools are opposed to the principle of the sales tax.

Organized Labor, than whom public education has no greater friend, has denounced the tax bitterly in its recent convention. The following is quoted from an interview with President Green of the American Federation of Labor at the time of the Federation's last convention:

"Labor views with feelings of deep apprehension the attempt of the advocates of sales tax legislation to transfer the burden of taxation from the wealth of the Nation to the masses of the people. Having consistently held that sales tax legislation is un-American and inconsistent with our democratic form of government, the American Federation of Labor will make sales tax legislation an issue to be determined by a record vote of the Members of Congress.

"Labor has borne the brunt of a three year depression and at the present time it is undergoing continued hardship and suffering. During all this period it has manifested qualities of self-possession and self-restraint which have challenged the admiration of its many friends. It is inconceivable that Congress would add to the suffering which Labor has endured by imposing upon it the additional burden which it would be called upon to bear in case Congress passes sales tax legislation.

"The issue is clearly drawn. The question is, shall the wealth of the Nation bear its proper share of the tax burden or shall it be transferred through the enactment of sales tax legislation to the homes, the firesides, the earnings and the lives of the poor, the masses of the people, many of whom are forced to forego the bare necessities of life?

"As the American Federation of Labor has always fought for the protection of the average citizen, the workers of the Nation, it will in this instance fight as never before to protect Labor against being made the victims of sales tax legislation."

The farmers of the country through their organizations are opposed to the sales tax in all its forms.

In sections where the unemployed have organized, organizations speaking for these unemployed have opposed the adoption of a sales tax even for unemployment relief.

On the other hand, bankers and their organizations, chambers of commerce, daily newspapers owned by wealthy income taxpayers, in fact all persons eligible to membership in the various citizens committees so busily engaged in deflating the schools are favorable to sales tax legislation.

The latter groups have shown themselves unfriendly to the public schools in this crisis and indifferent

to the welfare of teachers. Labor, the farmers and the unemployed organizations are standing today in favor of no reduction in educational standards.

Can any teacher afford to desert his friends and allies at this time and favor the tax proposed by the foes of education and denounced by its friends?

Even if there were some merit in a sales tax in ordinary times, the imposition of one during a depression would be most unfortunate. A sales tax is frankly a tax on consumption. Most of it would be paid by people who spend every cent of their incomes, in times like these, for consumption goods. A depression caused by lack of ability to buy necessary goods could only be made worse by any diminution of that buying power.

As hard as it is to take for the ten thousand or four thousand or what number with the super incomes, the only tax that would not be harmful socially during a depression is a tax on that portion of an income that is not used for buying consumer's goods. If a considerable part of those excess incomes could be put into circulation to support governments the expenditures of which are largely consumptive, a movement upward from the trough of the depression would be made.

## The Present Crisis

We are in the midst of war as real as the war of which James Russell Lowell wrote in the well-known poem of which the above headline was the title. This is a war even more fundamental than was the Civil War, because it is an economic war, and involves the slavery of the human race to the acquired Lords of the Machine Age. Specifically, we are beginning to identify these lords as the holders and the manipulators of money,—the bankers. We deal with these financial dictators in another column, and in other issues of the Union Teacher. Dr. Lefkowitz's recently issued, excellent pamphlet, "Teachers and the Economic Situation," is an authoritative document on this subject which all our members should possess.

As all the 35,000 teachers know, the bankers have ordered the Board of Estimate to appeal to the Legislature to repeal the mandatory statute by which the salary schedule of New York City teachers is protected. Teachers also know that all metro-

politan newspapers have taken the stand that wages must be reduced. They also stand for the elimination of municipal waste, but they evidently agree with the bankers and the grafters that the elimination of waste involves too much trouble to discuss now, whereas by a majority vote of the Legislature mandatory legislation can be repealed, and by a majority vote of the Board of Estimate the demands of the bankers can be met.

At the time of going to press, the teachers are beginning to see and to comprehend the signs of the relentless pressure of the economic forces that are made real through the commanding voice of the banking interests. Instead of teachers tremblingly yielding, let them join the fight that is now being waged in their behalf by Union and other leaders.

By refusing to yield, teachers will become aware of their own power. That would be a good thing for teachers, and for education as well.

*The above editorial is reproduced from the UNION TEACHER, the publication of New York Local 5, not only because of its excellence but because of its universality. We feel that it fits into the situation of every community in the United States as well as into New York, and therefore take pleasure in passing it on to the readers of the AMERICAN TEACHER.*

## Some More "Economy"

As an illustration of the type of intelligence and leadership which is at present controlling public education, we submit the following:

Dental clinics have been discontinued in a great measure in our public schools. The elimination of this service, it is claimed, has been made to save the taxpayers' money. Let us look into this saving a bit.

If the recent survey of the American Dental Association is dependable, and we believe it is, the closing of dental clinics in the schools is a waste and extravagance, and another illustration of taking it out on the children.

The survey gives us these startling figures:

Chicago taxpayers are losing \$750,000 a year in educating children who fail to pass their grades because of bad teeth.

Atlanta, Ga., with every child up to the standard dentally has reduced from 32 per cent to 8 per cent the number of children who fail to pass their grades, an estimated saving of \$250,000 a year.

In Cleveland, 92 per cent of the children examined have defective teeth; in White Plains, N. Y., 98 per cent.

In New York City, of 40,000 children examined, those with two or more bad teeth averaged five months behind their proper grade.

Bridgeport, Conn., cut down the number of "repeaters" by 65 per cent in a five-year program.

Let's establish more dental clinics and save money as well as do justice to the children, if the latter means anything in this cynical age.

### ***Making Teaching a Profession***

We enter upon a new year. With renewed vigor we re-dedicate ourselves to our profession, and to raising the status of that profession.

Our first step to make our efforts more effective, it would seem, would be to clarify for ourselves what a profession is, what the obligations of our profession are; and then we should quite definitely work out the ways and means of better and more fully meeting these obligations. Frankly, is teaching at present a profession, or does the work simply demand that we who are engaged in it shall meet certain "professional obligations"? Let's be fair in the analysis.

(1) A profession requires that its members be trained.

(2) A profession requires that those who practice it shall devote themselves to public service, shall concern themselves with the public good.

(3) A profession should determine its own standards.

(4) A cultural standard of living is expected of professional people.

(5) Professional people must seek to raise the standards of their particular profession; must devote themselves to bettering all phases and aspects of the work which they have elected to perform.

The American Federation of Teachers recognizes and fully accepts these requirements and plans its program to meet them.

(1) The American Federation of Teachers charts only professionally qualified teachers. We demand that teachers be required to have a rich academic background, and that that background include a knowledge and an understanding of the social significance of the facts learned.

(2) The American Federation of Teachers is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor because it feels that in this way it can better

serve the public. The affiliation therefore makes it more professional.

The American Federation of Teachers and its locals have done more than any other educational organization in this country in fighting child labor, in helping establish compulsory school attendance law, mothers' pensions; in seeking adequate appropriations for the conduct of the schools; it has led a magnificent fight (often a lone fight) against all sorts of propaganda in the schools. It has fought for freedom of thought, academic freedom! A great and mighty public service this is, we contend.

We repeat, that our affiliation with the bona fide trade union movement in this country particularly fits us for public service. The American labor movement is strictly non-partisan in its political activities. By it and through it the productive citizenry of a community is afforded a means of working collectively for the common good. Our members, therefore, join with the other public spirited citizens to seek a fuller and happier life for all.

(3) Do teachers at present determine their own professional standards? Can you imagine any physician allowing a lay body to determine what he shall prescribe? Do teachers "prescribe" courses of study? Are there many places where members of the bar are required to teach Sunday School? Does any community say whether dentists shall wear soft collars, or play cards? Who determines teachers' standards? Not teachers, as yet.

No educational organization in the country has fought more diligently and more effectively for the professional integrity of the teachers than the American Federation of Teachers.

(4) A cultural standard of living is predicated upon a cultural wage. The United States Office of Education says that "the average salary for teachers, principals, and supervisors for the United States in 1928 was \$1364." (This is an *average* and not a median; it includes in its computation the salaries of the school officials which are uniformly much greater than those of the teachers.) It is therefore correct to estimate that the median salary of *teachers* in the United States is not much above \$1200 a year. Disregarding for the moment the large number of teachers that have family responsibilities, we ask how far \$1200 goes for one person's housing, food, dress, medical care, church and charitable contributions, books, theaters, magazines, con-

certs, travel, membership in professional organizations, continuous contact with the progress within his own profession and all the other things that go to make up "a cultural standard of living for the professional man or woman."

The American Federation of Teachers believes that inasmuch as a cultural standard of living is dependent upon a cultural wage that teachers must actively concern themselves with the problem of teachers' salaries. We claim with a just pride that no organization in the United States has done more to secure for the teachers a cultural wage than has the American Federation of Labor with which we are affiliated.

(5) Our immediate concern is to raise the standards of teaching, teachers, and schools. Hence we strive for:

Sanitary, beautiful schools; happy homes they should be, during the school day, for small groups of children. Curricula determined by the capacities of the children, and their interests; curricula which stimulate thought and which eliminate hatreds and prejudices.

Teachers equipped to teach, gifted to inspire, motivated by a desire to serve—no special interest, but the community and its children.

A system of school administration which seeks the active participation of the class-room teacher in the consideration of professional problems concerning the schools; school boards thoroughly representative of all of the people; teacher tenure dependent upon the high moral character and the professional fitness of the teacher.

On these conditions do we seek to *make teaching a profession*, and we ask the support of all teachers who are likewise imbued with "professional-mindedness."

*Reprinted by request.*

"What we do in our public schools with our children determines what our Nation shall be. In spite of temporary economic difficulties, it is no time for back tracking in education. It is more vital for us to have better education and more of it to protect us from our own ignorance and follies. Men are children but once and during that period the grown-up can at least afford opportunity to the child."

—Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the U. S. Dept. of Interior.

## Speaking of Laps

The Chicago Herald-Examiner in reporting the acceptance by the Chicago Board of Education of the demand of the Sargent Committee that 1933 tax levies exclusive of that for bond redemptions and interest be limited to \$48,000,000, a cut of \$13,000,000 in the next year's budget, makes this statement:

"Urging compliance with the demands, Trustee Orville Taylor said: 'Whether we like it or not, we are in the LAP of the citizens' committee, upon whom the bankers are depending'."

### Another Sort of Lap

Labor, a national weekly newspaper published in Washington, D. C., by the Railroad Labor Organizations, published the following in its issue of December 6.

### School Teacher Spanks Rail Head

#### Fred Sargent Rebuked for Agitating Abolition Of Junior High Schools

BY STAFF REPRESENTATIVE

Cincinnati, Dec. 1.—When a school teacher scolds a little boy, it isn't news. But when she gives an oral "spanking" to a railroad president, all good reporters sharpen their pencils and write a "piece" about it.

Mrs. Florence Hanson of the Teachers' Union figuratively laid President Fred Sargent of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad OVER HER KNEE yesterday at the American Federation of Labor convention here.

Mrs. Hanson paid her "respects" to Mr. Sargent when she received word from Chicago that a committee which he heads in that city had just recommended abolition of all junior high schools as an "economy" move.

Attacking the Sargent group as an "extra-legal" body, Mrs. Hanson predicted that if it and similar "economy" committees were permitted to continue their efforts "there will be no free education above the sixth grade" in the United States two years from now.

### And Still Another

H. G. Wells has said that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe. Catastrophe seems to be several LAPS ahead. The extra-legal committees, the super-governments, the bankers are leading the educators in the race. When will the educators and social leaders make a spurt and gain a few LAPS on their opponents?

## The Coat and the Cloth

A word from our neighbor across the border, THE MANITOBA TEACHER.

One frequently hears critics of our school system offering as an unanswerable argument for their demand for economy the old maxim, "We must cut our coat according to our cloth." They seem to consider that, after this sage remark, any reply to their criticisms is a mere impertinence. In vain does one point out to them that the increased costs of education are due, not to a veritable frenzy of extravagance but to an unprecedented increase in school attendance, especially in the secondary grades, and to a marked decrease in the spending power of the dollar. They frankly admit all this, but say, with wearisome reiteration, "But, after all, what else can we do? We must cut our coat according to our cloth."

Shakespeare must have had bitter experience of this sort of argument when he ridiculed the tiresome dotard who was "full of wise saws and modern instances." The world contains a vast number of unthinking people who have only to hear anything said often enough in order that they may come to believe it implicitly. They are at the mercy of advertisers and politicians who have learned the value of the slogan. They allow their lives to be directed in accordance with old-fashioned rules of conduct which have been handed down from generation to generation by the mumbling wise-aces of the past. It seldom occurs to them that these proverbial sayings to which they attach so much importance were concocted ages ago by timid, narrow-minded souls whose self-interest was greater than their courage and their sense of responsibility. They were the unenterprising folks who always looked before they leaped, who were honest merely because that was the best policy, who were so concerned with preparations for some future rainy day that they were unable to enjoy the sunshine of the present.

"Play safe," "count the cost," "never bite off more than you can chew"—these are the mottoes of the defeated, the uninspired, the mediocre. The truly great souls of history—men like Columbus, David Livingstone and Captain Scott—ignored such advice and, by taking great risks, were able to accomplish great deeds. During times of stress they were not content to safeguard the little they were sure of but, by the audacity of sacrifice, they were able to snatch victory out of the very jaws of defeat.

The citizens of today were the school-children of yesterday. If their educational coat had always been cut according to the cloth which was available, they might now be wearing a scanty, nondescript garment, suspiciously lacking in respectability. Their fathers belonged to an age when men were not afraid to sacrifice much for the benefit of those who were destined to follow them. Scrimping and saving there undoubtedly was, many a time, but ever the needs of the "bairns" were kept in the forefront; they were fed—physically, intellectually and spiritually—even when their elders had to go hungry.

Economy there must be in times of dire necessity, economy in the home and in the state, a ruthless slashing of waste and extravagance and inefficiency. But a point is reached at which further economy becomes uneconomic, when, in the fury of reduction of expenditure, the very heart of our civilization is endangered. When economy can no longer be safely practiced, the time has come for sacrifice, and surely, of all sacrifice, that which is for the benefit of the youth of our country, helpless to equip themselves in the great task of preparation for the future, is the worthiest of all.

Teachers are already bearing a heavy share of the financial burden. Salaries have been reduced beyond all bounds of fairness and, in many cases, even of decency, because that was the easiest method of "cutting the coat." School buildings which have become antiquated, inadequate and in urgent need of repair, are still in use because authorities are afraid to add to educational costs which have already been pared to the bone. Classes are increasing in size with the result that teachers are engaging in a well-nigh hopeless struggle to carry out a modern curriculum under impossible conditions.

Canada has a right to feel proud of the hardy pioneers who sacrificed so much in blazing the trail to the west. She has a right to feel proud of the heroic youth who did not stay to count the cost when their motherland was in danger. Will the next generation feel as proud of those who, grudgingly and cold-bloodedly, measure out with mercenary hand only what they can afford to spend with out inconvenience to their own comfort and security, who refuse to look upon the welfare of the children as a cause deserving of sacrifice, who restrict themselves ignobly to the safe and cautious method of "cutting their coat according to their cloth?"

## Face the Facts

That the present depression is merely one of a number of periodical downturns that are necessarily incident to the cyclical nature of modern industry has been taken for granted too easily and too universally.

It is possible that the present depression has features that make it unlike former depressions and that make a recovery from it less simple. It is even possible that former depressions were not mere "low turns" in the wheel of industry but breakdowns or near breakdowns in a faulty economic order.

After all, modern capitalism is not an old institution and with its faults is not likely to be a permanent one unless such terrible faults as the present depression are remedied.

The recovery from former depressions which were collapses of the industrial order were brought about largely because the world was only partly industrialized. New sections were brought under development which permitted another lease of life to a faulty system. In the United States the settlement of a new and a newer west relieved both the unemployment during the depressions, and its development brought back normal prosperous times. Certainly the earlier major depressions, 1837, 1857, 1873 and 1893, were followed immediately by great waves of western migration.

Incidentally, the former depressions were not preceded by such great technological improvements as to cause great unemployment during the prosperous years of boom times. Technological unemployment was steadily assuming alarming proportions in 1927, 1928 and 1929 at a time when production was increasing.

Instead of providing only temporary relief measures and palliatives to be used in the interim between two periods of prosperity, would it not be well for our statesmen to examine the situation and see if the breakdown is not permanent unless some real changes are made in the industrial machine? We have waited for three years expecting prosperity to return from around the corner without doing anything toward a permanent improvement.

Even if the situation is temporary, the cost of living through it is terrible. If it is permanent, our whole civilization is in danger. The standard of living of more than half the people in this country has been materially lowered already. Millions of lives have been wrecked and in spite

of our optimistic hopes of better conditions they are not in sight.

Some way of putting millions of employed to work at such wages as will permit them to purchase what they produce must be devised and that soon, or the boasted high standard of American living will be a memory. There must be voluntary or involuntary opening up of industrial plants which will permit the unemployed to produce what they need as soon as the resources of public and private charity are exhausted. This, coupled with a moratorium on profits or at least on profits which are beyond the ability of the profit taker to consume, might restore the balance between consumption and production, the lack of which has wrecked our industrial machine.

## Get Your Arguments

Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, New York Local 5, has prepared a 40-page pamphlet entitled *The Teachers and the Economic Situation*. This exceedingly able and logical pamphlet gives answers to many questions which it is important that teachers should know. It contains a most comprehensive discussion of the entire question. Teachers can do much to help enlighten public-spirited men and women they know by buying copies and mailing them to such persons. No teacher will remain uninformed, or poorly informed, who reads this pamphlet.

*The Teachers and the Economic Situation* may be obtained for fifteen cents from the Teachers' Union of the City of New York, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

## The George Emerson Lowell Scholarship

One George Emerson Lowell Scholarship, of the value of \$523, is available for students in school who wish to enter Harvard College in 1933. The Department of Classics of Harvard College will nominate a student of approved ability to the Committee on Scholarships of Harvard College, making the nomination on the basis of a special examination in Latin and Greek, to be held in March or April, 1933, at centers to be subsequently arranged. The registration of students as candidates for this Scholarship should be made through the Principal and Classical teacher of the candidates' schools, and should be made on proper forms which can be obtained from the Secretary of the Committee on Scholarships, University Hall 4, Cambridge, Mass

## Vox Magestri

### In Union There Is Strength

EDITOR, AMERICAN TEACHER:

In the December issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER, there appeared a short article on page twelve, entitled "Racketeers."

The writer warns teachers against racketeers who come forth with plans for a hundred per cent organization of teachers. The teachers are referred to a racketeer of this type in Chicago who was recently "taken for a ride" ("not in the worst Chicago manner").

I think that this article fails utterly in its purpose inasmuch as it does not mention the name of this racketeer of Chicago, so that we may really have something to guard against if he should appear elsewhere. I, for one, feel that it is urgent that the writer of the article state definitely, in the January issue of THE AMERICAN TEACHER, the name of this racketeer and his organization, so that we will be able to distinguish him from others who are sincere in their efforts to point out to the ninety-nine per cent of unorganized teachers the need for organization. It is only by exposing the double-faced misleaders in the labor movement that we can solve our organization problems.

FLORENCE C. WAKS, Local 5.

(The purpose of this article was to warn teachers against any one who appeared without credentials or organization with a scheme to unite all the teachers into a new movement. This particular individual had no organization. He merely wished to form one from existing organizations.

Even those "who are sincere in their efforts to point out to the ninety-nine per cent of unorganized teachers the need for organization" are giving them poor advice unless they urge them to join with those already organized.

The teachers in many cities are cursed with a multiplicity of organizations with no real affiliations. Misguided individuals, some of them teachers, in efforts to create a new organization to unite all organized and unorganized teachers usually end with just one more organization and more disunion.

There will be no accredited representative of the labor movement attempting to organize the teachers into any organization other than that of the American Federation of Teachers. Any one claiming to represent the labor movement in behalf of any other organization is an imposter.)

## Words of Appreciation

My dear Mrs. Hanson:

Thank you most kindly for the A. F. of L. proceedings. I find your report on the Junior High situation in Chicago extremely valuable for its wealth of information and keen analysis of the problem.

My warm congratulations on the appearance of the AMERICAN TEACHER in its "new dress". Many teachers have commented to me on its attractiveness and readability.

The section titled "The Weathervane Points", and the column "Economy Programs" in the December issue were especially vivid in interest and significance.

MEYER HALUSHKA, Chicago Men Local 2.

We have long desired to have a Correspondents' Column in the AMERICAN TEACHER. We have made a good start this month. It is hoped that it will be a regular feature each month.

## The Sargent Committee

(Report of Committee of Chicago Principals' Club in re Sargent Committee, which is the "Citizens' Committee" attempting to control public expenditures.)

Board of Directors,  
The Chicago Principals' Club:

Your committee which was appointed to determine certain facts about the members of the Sargent Committee on Public Expenditures bearing on their qualifications to serve as advisors of the Chicago Board of Education wishes to make the following report on certain phases of their investigation which has been completed.

The Sargent Committee is sometimes referred to in the press as a committee of 100, sometimes as a committee of 250. Twenty-three names were published in the press March 14, 1932. Eight names in addition appear on the Committee's letterhead. One member is deceased. Another member could not be identified. This report therefore is based on 29 members.

Fourteen members of the committee live in a strip two blocks wide and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile long between the Drake Hotel and Lincoln Park. Three more live within the city along the north shore, three live in Hyde Park and one in Beverly Hills. Three have residences both in Lake Forest and Chicago, one in Evanston and Chicago. Two live in Highland Park, two in Glencoe, one in Wilmette, one in Evanston and one in Oak Park. Seven members, practically one-fourth the members of a committee which is attempting to dictate the policies of the Chicago Board of Education have no Chicago residence. The addresses were secured from Who's Who in Chicago, 1931, and the most recent city and suburban telephone directories.

On the basis of the addresses thus secured six of the members of this committee are not registered voters (October, 1932) at either a Chicago or a suburban address.

As to their business affiliations, all of the members of the committee are associated in one way or another with big business. Five of them are on the Board of Directors of one or another of the four largest loop banks and two of them are on the boards of two of these banks. It is to these banks, the First National, The Harris Trust and Savings, The Continental Illinois and the Northern Trust, that the Board of Education must look for the purchase of its tax warrants.

So far as it can be determined from the records of those schools in the

neighborhoods where the members of the Sargent Committee now live, only two, possibly three, of the twenty members of the Committee who have children have ever sent them to the Chicago public elementary schools and these children have only attended in the low grades for a short time.

One of the members of the Committee has sent his children to the University of Chicago schools where the yearly tuition is as follows: Grade 1, \$300; Grades 2 to 6, \$325; Grades 7 to 12, \$400. Although 38% of the children in the University schools pay only half tuition, on the other hand these schools do not have to bear many of the costs of maintenance and operation which the public schools must carry, nor any of the costs of buildings. Four have sent their children to the Francis W. Parker School where the tuition is: Grades 1 to 4, \$180; 5 to 8, \$240; 9 to 12, \$400. We are informed that this tuition lacks about \$150 per child of paying the actual cost of operation of this school. At least three have sent their children to the Chicago Latin School for Boys. Here the tuition is: Grade 1, \$400; 2 and 3, \$450; 4 to 8, \$540; 9 to 12, \$630.

These figures may be contrasted with the following costs of instruction of a child in the Chicago public schools for the year 1931, as given on page 152, Vol. 1, of the Strayer Survey; Elementary schools, \$97.40; Junior high schools, \$119.60; Senior high schools, \$147.26.

Even if the entire 1931 expenditures, including night school, summer school, Crane and Normal, approximately \$7,000,000 for debt service and \$11,000,000 for capital outlay be charged against the 448,000 pupils in average daily attendance, the figures above cited are increased by only about \$58 per child. The cost of educating a child in the type of school to which the members of the Citizens' Committee prefer to send their children is thus from two to three times the cost of education in the Chicago public schools. The contrast is even more striking if the 1932 expenditures, which are approximately 13% below those of 1931, be considered.

Respectfully submitted,

—THE COMMITTEE.

Approved, December 2, 1932, by the Board of Directors of the Chicago Principals' Club.

*Opportunities are swarming around us all the time thicker than gnats at sundown. We walk through a cloud of them.*

—VAN DYKE.

## Florence E. Hunter

It is with deep regret that we record the death of our valued member and generous supporter, Florence E. Hunter, Cambridge Local 195. Miss Hunter was one of those who took the initiative in forming an organization for the greater protection of the teachers and the schools. She was in this as in all social movements forward-looking, earnest and devoted. She will be greatly missed by the National as well as by her Local.

The following resolution was adopted by Cambridge Federation of Teachers Local 195 and engrossed upon its records:

Whereas,

It has pleased Almighty God, in His infinite wisdom and mercy, to call to her everlasting reward, our beloved friend and co-worker,

FLORENCE E. HUNTER,

for many years a loyal and conscientious teacher in the Cambridge schools; and

Whereas, through her death the entire teaching force of the City of Cambridge has lost an invaluable member who through her indefatigable labors helped to advance immeasurably educational ideals in the community; and

Whereas, through her death, the Cambridge Federation of Teachers has suffered the irreparable loss of one of its charter members and most valued leaders; therefore be it

Resolved: That the Cambridge Federation of Teachers express to her brother its sincere regret and heartfelt sympathy; and

Be it further

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to Mr. William Hunter and also be incorporated in the records of the Federation.

BERNICE ROGERS, *President*  
ANNA KATZ, *Secretary*

"The good man loves all men. All within the four seas are his brothers."  
—Confucius.

"The noblest monument to God is a noble people, well fed, free, educated, wise, good."

—Theodore Parker.

The exigencies of the "Great Battle" in New York have prevented the preparation of the President's Page. We regret this omission; the next issue this page will be resumed.

# Education or Catastrophe

**Tenure Resolution Passed by California State Federation of Labor.**—"Resolved, By the California State Federation of Labor, that this Federation favors the maintenance of the principle of permanent tenure for teachers in the public schools, and to that end will use its good offices and influence to maintain existing legislation on the subject unimpaired, and will oppose any attempts that may be made to deprive teachers of the full benefits of the present state tenure law, including the right of appeal to the courts on both law and facts, in the event of any attempted invasion of rights acquired in conformity with said law."

**Radio a Moral Issue.**—It is the opinion of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers that radio is a form of education and should be used to enrich and extend home and community life, and for this reason the broadcasting channels should be properly regulated by national and state authorities and freed from objectionable advertising.

**New York State Federation of Labor Will Oppose Reduction of Teachers' Salaries.**—In conformity with a resolution adopted by the 69th Annual Convention at Utica, the Executive Council of the New York State Federation of Labor instructed the officers of the Federation to oppose any legislation designed to decrease the scheduled salaries of public school teachers.

**A World Association of Catholic Teachers.**—At a congress in Vienna, it has been decided to revive the World Association of Catholic Teachers, which fell into abeyance during the War, states the *Universe*. Catholic teachers' organizations in thirteen European countries (including England) and in the U. S. A. are supporting the movement.

**Asheville and Buncombe County, N. C., Teachers Wait for Past Due Salaries.**—Until a settlement of the city-county public debt is worked out, but little prospect is in sight for any immediate payment of past due salaries owed to Asheville and Buncombe county teachers.

There is owing about \$130,000 in salaries to city and county teachers, about half being due each group. Several weeks ago the county board of control authorized the sale of revenue anticipation notes for the purpose of developing funds for the purpose, and indication was made that a market could be found for the notes, which had to be authorized by the local government commission at Raleigh.

Negotiations apparently have hit a snag, and the money is not directly in sight from note issuances. Unless the funds are developed through a settlement of the public debt, the back salaries cannot be paid until they are developed from uncollected taxes. City teachers are owing April and May salaries. The city teachers have been paid up all salaries due under the state six-months term.

**Fort Lee, N. Y., to Issue Notes in Lieu of Salaries.**—In response to a request by school teachers the Borough of Fort Lee will issue \$25,000 in scrip in the form of 6 per cent tax anticipation notes next week, which will be paid to those teachers and other borough employes who are willing to accept the notes in lieu of their salaries, now a month and a half overdue.

**More Pupils But No More Teachers.**—Enrollment in the Chicago public schools has reached a total of 494,078, an increase of 8,563 over the same period of registration for last year. The senior high schools with 106,021 students—an increase of 8,256—have the largest enrollment in history.

In the junior high schools the enrollment is now 46,415, or an increase of 6,193 over last year. The enrollment of elementary school pupils is 334,190, a decrease of 185, which reflects the declining birth rate, educators say.

The largest decrease is found in the continuation schools. Their enrollment of 1,695 is 4,434 less than last year. Decreased registration was also reported by Normal and Crane colleges and special branches of the school system.

**Failure to Supply Needful Books Is Characterized as False Economy.**—Net sales of textbooks sold by forty-two leading publishers dropped from \$22,977,001 during the six-months' period between July and December, 1930, to \$19,487,457 for the corresponding period in 1931, according to facts given out by Dr. William J. Cooper, Federal Commissioner of Education, and E. M. Foster, Chief of the Division of Statistics of the Office of Education.

If sales from January to July, 1932, which have not been tabulated, show the same drop, the total decrease for the year will probably amount to \$7,000,000.

Dr. Cooper said that "school systems are storing up future trouble for themselves by refusing to replace dilapidated books when they should be replaced."

**Michigan Federation of Labor Urges Teachers to Join Teachers' Union.**—The State convention of the Michigan Federation of Labor authorized the executive board to work with the Teachers' Union in their efforts to interest the teachers of the state in organization. This action was taken not only because of the benefits to be derived, but because it would restrain school boards from cutting teachers' wages. It was declared that if teachers' salaries are cut, the effect would revert back to labor.

**Chattanooga, Tenn.**—Public school teachers donated 15% of their salaries to help the Board of Education balance its budget.

**Tuition Fees for High School of Meriden, Conn.**—Resolution by Meriden Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Education is of vital importance to the wage earner; and

WHEREAS, Better and higher education is daily becoming a greater need in this country; and

WHEREAS, There is evidence of a tendency to weaken and curtail the degree of education available to the wage earners' children; and

WHEREAS, This tendency has manifested itself in the proposal to establish a tuition fee of one hundred dollars for all those attending the first year of High School; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That this Conference go on record as opposed to any curtailing of educational opportunities for the children of this State and that we exert every effort to prevent the introduction of any tuition fee for the first year or any other year of High School.

**New Haven, Conn., School Board Promises Elimination of Teachers and Drastic Salary Cuts.**—New Haven, Conn., has the proud distinction of paying lower salaries to its teachers than any other city of its size. It now proposes to reduce expenditures of the department of education \$352,000 for the calendar year of 1933. It is proposed to reduce the number of teachers in order to save \$90,000 in the teachers' payroll. This means that about 90 teachers will be eliminated by the Board of Education after the expiration of their present contracts in June. The board will also save \$27,000 in the salary account by not paying teachers while they are absent because of sickness or other causes. Since the fact that the board has decided as one means of saving money to drop some of the teachers would cause disturbance among the teaching corps, the exact details are withheld for the present.

**Dayton Schools Operating on Part-Time Basis.**—The schools of Dayton, Ohio, are operating on a part-time schedule this year. The junior and senior high schools are opened for three days a week and the elementary schools are operating on a half-day session basis. The junior and senior high schools are in session only on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The new Paul Lawrence Dunbar Junior High School, which was recently completed in Dayton, will be unoccupied this year, it is reported, due to lack of funds to equip it.

**Winnipeg, Manitoba, Raises Laborers' Wages.**—Stepping firmly on the general clamor for pay reductions of municipal employes, the Winnipeg City Council increased the pay of city laborers from 40 to 42½ cents an hour. The increase was sponsored by labor aldermen, who claimed that such workmen did not as a rule get full-time work and received on an average about \$60 a month, on which in many cases large families had to be supported.

**Fees in Secondary Schools, England.**—The utmost alarm and indignation has been aroused through the issue by the Board of Education of Circular 1421, according to which all grant-aided secondary schools are in future to charge fees, secondary school fees are to be raised, and a means test is to be imposed before any child is allowed to receive a secondary education. It is stated in the Circular that the system of admitting pupils free to secondary schools without any regard to the capacity of the parents to pay is needlessly wasteful of public funds, and that the fees charged often bear but a small proportion to the cost of the education provided, and are frequently not adequate, having regard to what parents can afford to pay. Under the new regulations, places—called special places—will continue to be filled by open competition, but the parents of successful pupils will have to pay the fee unless they can show that their circumstances justify some remission. If this circular is put into force the gravest results will follow. Parents will not readily pay the increased fees and suffer loss in maintenance grants. It seems certain that the secondary school population will decline, and serious tenure questions will then arise. Last year the education estimates showed a reduction of 10.8%, while on armaments the reduction was only 4.7%. We hope that public opinion will make itself felt in such a way as to compel the withdrawal of these proposals before they become operative.

The A. M. A. Journal.

**Oak Park, Ill., Operating Schools on Half Cash Basis.**

—The number of teachers in Oak Park, Ill., was reduced from 291 to 278, and the school year started two weeks later than usual as economy measures. During the last four months of last year the teachers were paid half in cash and half in teachers' orders, amounting to \$70,000, which will be redeemed by the school board when cash is available. The same system of paying teachers and other employes will be used this year.

**Utah Labor Supports A. F. T. and Public School Standards.**—The Utah State Federation of Labor at its annual convention adopted a resolution condemning those making an attack upon the standards of the public schools of Utah by advocating cuts in salaries of teachers, restrictions in curriculum and shortening of school year. "We believe the best interests of the school children of Utah would be served by the teachers of the state of Utah affiliating with the American Federation of Teachers, therefore be it Resolved, by the Utah State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we make every possible effort to induce the teachers in the public schools of Utah to affiliate with the American Federation of Teachers, and be it further Resolved, That we aid in every possible way in the maintenance of 1929 public school standards in this state."

**Overload on Teachers Affects School Rating.**—The secondary schools of Tacoma, Wash., have been removed from the approved list, because of the overload on teachers. The work of the high school teachers has been increased 20 per cent by addition of an extra class to each teacher. High school classes have been increased 40 per cent since 1925, and in addition to that they are now being asked to take a wage cut.

**Moratorium on Pay Increases Does Not Apply to New York State School Teachers.**—Attorney-General John J. Bennett, Jr., gave a formal opinion that the new law declaring a one-year moratorium on all state salary increases does not apply to school teachers in the public schools. "Chapter 50 of the Laws of 1932," Mr. Bennett wrote, "suspends temporarily any increase in salary or wages of officers or employees 'in the state service.' This, in our opinion, does not apply to public school teachers. Teachers are employed and their salaries are fixed according to law by the local boards of education and local school district authorities. The state contributes toward their salaries, but does not hire or discharge teachers."

**Garfield, N. J., Teachers Get Part Pay.**—The public school teachers and other city employes here received a part of their back salaries due for service in April and May. This was made possible when the Forstmann Woolen Company, operating an extensive plant here, paid its taxes of \$112,000.

**Chicago, Ill.**—The Herald-Examiner of December 17 carried on the front page this interesting news. (Caps. ours.) Payday next week for 45,000 unpaid city, county, sanitary and school workers seemed assured yesterday, AS VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS MET THE DEMANDS OF THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE. THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE ASKED THE SCHOOL BOARD FOR ITS FIRST HALF OF MAY PAYROLL FIGURES, presumably so it could provide money for pay checks.

### Teacher List to be Slashed in Bridgeport, Conn.—

Married school teachers of Bridgeport who are able to live independently of their salaries will be dropped from the city school system at the end of the school year next June. The move has been decided upon by members of the board as a means of reducing expenses of the school system next year and is a small part of an economy program being considered at a series of conferences being held weekly by the commissioners. The superintendent of schools, acting upon instructions from the board members, has sent a letter to each married teacher in the public school system, asking her to fill out an enclosed questionnaire concerning her financial status. *Not to get better teachers, but to get cheaper teachers. One school board that is perfectly frank about it.*

**Humiliating the School Teachers.**—If you think there is going to be a shortage of school teachers in Ontario this Fall, consider what happened when the Blyth School Board advertised for four teachers. To fill those places, 100 applicants came in person to see the trustees. Another 550 wrote their applications. That's 650 after four positions. Blyth is near Goderich. The teaching posts were not so lucrative. One man, engaged as principal, is to get \$1,000 for the year; two women are to get \$800 each; the fourth teacher is for the continuation classes and will be paid \$1,500. The sad and striking part of this statement is that a school principal should be expected or even allowed to work for \$1,000 a year—less than \$100 a month. Unless the teaching profession is given more consideration by those in authority there will soon be a breakdown in our educational system. Ontario is proud of her schools—let it not develop into a false pride!—Border Cities Star, Aug. 23, 1932.

### Cincinnati, Ohio, Board of Education Cuts Sick Leave as Economy Measure—

By recent action of the Cincinnati Board of Education, teachers' sick leave after the first five days of absence has been reduced from one-half to one-fourth of the salary for the succeeding thirty-five days. Thus if a teacher is absent on account of illness or accident for twenty days, she will be paid an equivalent of the salary for eight and three-fourths days; if she is absent two months or more she will be paid the equivalent of thirteen and three-fourths days' salary. The estimated savings by this change of practice is \$15,000 per year. This is an average loss per teacher of about \$7.50 each. While the loss is small, if equally distributed, this loss will actually be distributed among 100 to 150 teachers who are ill and burdened with the expense of nursing, hospitalization and medical attention.

### Do You Still Believe In Santa Claus?

Then of course you think that the economic machine will not run over you, but will detour just because you are a teacher. That being the case there is no reason whatever why you should join the Union and do your part toward defending the welfare of the rest of the teaching body.

*Monthly Bulletin, Chicago Local 2.*

### The Dublin Conference of the W. F. E. A.

Dublin and all Ireland will provide a hearty welcome to those who attend the Fifth Biennial Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations to be held in Dublin July 29 to August 4, 1933. All American teachers who travel in Europe next summer should plan to make this Conference the high point of their trip.

Nowhere in the world is there presented, within so limited a space, such a wonderful variety of scenery as in Ireland. Beautiful lakes, lovely mountains, entrancing valleys, everywhere greet the visitor. Dublin itself is noted for its many interesting buildings and its historical background. Around it, within an hour's run, are clustered many charming seaside resorts and numerous centers of scenic and antiquarian interest. On all sides, except next to the sea, stretches a chain of grand mountains, richly blooming with shades of green and purple and gold. There are shady dells, rippling streams, and lakes that peep like gems from the wooded hills.

For hundreds of years Ireland has been noted as the center of learning. Indeed, from the fifth to the ninth century, missionaries and scholars flocked there from every country of Christendom. Alfred the Great of England came to study at Irish schools; teachers were drawn from Ireland to the courts of kings; and in the monastic libraries are still preserved many of the beautifully illuminated manuscripts of those ancient days. The most magnificent of all these ancient manuscripts is the well-known Book of Kells, which may be seen at Trinity College, Dublin. This glorious treasure stands first among all the illuminated manuscripts of the world. Twelve hundred years have come and gone since some obscure, nameless monk executed this wonderful work in his narrow cell in the monastery at Kells, but the book will be open to teachers of the world next summer, with colors as fresh and brilliant as when it left the artist's hands.

Numerous tours, both before and after the convention, are being arranged and will be announced soon. Those who wish to go early may close their tours at Dublin and those who wish to go later may go to Dublin and begin their tours from that city. It is hoped that arrangements can be made for American teachers to meet special groups of teachers at various points on these itineraries.

An excellent program is being planned by President Paul Monroe in conjunction with the British and Irish Directors. Eminent educators from Great Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe, along with others from America and Asia, will appear upon the program. As usual, the meeting will be divided into general sessions and special sessions. The general sessions will afford opportunity for delegates and visitors to enjoy addresses by men and women of world-wide reputation, while the special sessions will give teachers the privilege of taking part in discussions relating to their own particular educational interests.

The main purpose of the World Federation of Education Associations is the cultivation and development of international understanding and goodwill through education. The Dublin Conference will be a great international educational gathering and as such it will afford opportunities for the teachers of America to meet their fellow teachers from other countries. Those who have attended previous meetings will look forward to renewing old friendships, while those who have not previously attended an international conference, will find in store for them a variety of experiences full of interest and enjoyment.

# Radio Channel Grants and Grantees

Harris K. Randall

**T**WENTY years ago the great "dream of the future" was "wireless telephony." Physicists and publicists alike envisioned a day when not only the primitive dots and dashes, but the human voice itself, might be endowed by electricity with a range of many miles instead of a few yards, enabling a spoken message to be carried instantly throughout the length and breadth of the land. Here was the ultimate boon, for lack of which Hellenic democracy was confined within the environs of the individual city, and the coming of which might finally awaken the public conscience to combat the threatened decay of American ideals in our modern over-expanded industrialism.

The physicist has done his part: technically, wireless telephony is a reality beyond the wildest pre-war dreams. The voice of the President as he speaks today can resound in over half of the nation's homes, and in many of its schools. Yet "radio," in all its glory, is a matter of indifference, or worse, in many of our most enlightened families. Why?

The answer will not be long in coming. "It's the programs. They're fit only for 12-year olds."

Nor need we dwell at much greater length on the station men's rejoinder. We know well, by now, that either advertisers or taxes must pay the costs. We know there is more money for advertisers in programs that appeal to the lower instincts of mankind than those of an "uplifting" bent. We know that to demolish the hundred-million dollar radio advertising industry and to substitute for it a tax-supported federal broadcasting monopoly would be a political near-impossibility. Many of us, indeed, are none too confident that the granting to any sort of body of a federal monopoly control over all broadcast messages, and over the spending of millions of dollars of tax money, would be a very desirable or safe tonic for our bunk-infested political processes. And only the most confirmed optimist can read the declarations of the advertising agents, recently transmitted to the Senate by the Federal Radio Commission, and still expect advertising money to finance radio if air advertisements were limited by law to the much-talked-of "announcement of sponsorship." Listeners might prefer it, but advertisers will not buy it.

In short, not much can be hoped for from any of the currently-prescribed panaceas for radio's ills. Yet one thing we may be sure of: the demonstrated revenue-producing power of commercial broadcasting in America is so enormous compared to the cost of sending out a moderate quantity of truly excellent broadcasts from the principal population centers, that if means could be found for diverting a modest percentage of the flowing revenue to such ends, there might well result a system of advertising-financed public service (corresponding to the advertising-financed "reading columns" of newspapers and magazines) to surpass the best tax-supported service of European countries. Also it cannot well be doubted that, from the standpoint of both listener and advertiser, a large part of radio's vast revenues are being wasted in maintaining too many stations. Finally, we know that broadcasting is a business conducted on "public property"—the 96 channels that range themselves around our home dial—and that some of these channels have become enormously valuable, so that the grant of a right to control traffic on them is equivalent to

bestowal of a generous cash endowment by the federal government on the "licensee." Moreover, the courts have upheld pretty broadly the power of Congress to direct the assignment of control of these channels to whatever sort of "licensees" may be found fit to exercise it in the public interest. Putting these facts together, the suspicion would seem justified that if the Radio Commission, charged by Congress with the duty of selecting the beneficiaries for these broadcast "licenses," were to embark on a policy of searching more widely for license applicants best qualified in fact to serve the public interest in a larger sense, and would relax its restrictions and regulations sufficiently to enable such applicants, when licensed, to realize a maximum cash income from the channels entrusted to them, then bodies actuated by a genuine desire to provide the public with a superlative broadcast service could thus be rendered financially capable of doing so.

Some years of study of these neglected aspects of American Broadcasting has convinced the writer that such motivation can never be expected in licensees who own costly transmitting equipment, and are thus primarily concerned to sell the service of it to advertisers, as continually and as dearly as their government-granted channel control can enable them to sell it. Symptoms of agreement with this view are now beginning to appear in some highly authoritative quarters. For example, Orestes H. Caldwell, former Federal Radio Commissioner and editor of two leading radio trade papers, editorialized recently in *Electronics*, to the effect that "the majority of the Radio Commission, continuously pounded by political pressure, finds that they must grant concessions to properly accoutred applicants, while radio principles and the rights of farm and rural listeners go into the discard."

There is a world of truth in Mr. Caldwell's word "accoutred"; the federal broadcast licensing policy has in fact been rather ludicrously analogous to an offer of commissions in the army to candidates who can show that they possess a sword and a pistol. Any hard-working broadcast director knows perfectly well that if he were given full control of, say, a clear channel in Chicago or New York, his fortune would be made; "accoutring" himself or his channel lessee with a transmitting plant would be a matter of detail. Metropolitan broadcast licenses are, in effect, *leases* on valuable public property in the air; granted to institutions or bodies corresponding in social responsibility for example to the recipients of the federal land-grants for educational purposes, the important channel assignments could be made fountains of perpetual sustenance for broadcasts designed to serve the listening public's highest instincts instead of their lowest ones. The money thus made available would come, until other sources should appear, from the same one as now—the advertisers. They now pay millions annually to station owners for access to the public channels of communication that lead straight to the 17,000,000 radio equipped firesides where dwells most of America's buying power, and they would just as willingly—perhaps more so—pay these millions to licensees selected for their ability and motivation toward serving the interests of home-radio owners instead of transmitter-stockholders. The money that could then be used to hire more symphony orchestras and opera

companies and thought-provoking speakers would be the same money that is now used for erecting and operating a horde of unneeded stations, dotting the suburbs of all our large cities, and continually grinding up princely fortunes into an absurd over-supply of jazz and worse.

Meanwhile, Congress and Radio Commissioners solemnly debate the merits of one "station" as against another, and neglect entirely the urgent need of finding proper custodians for the fabulously valuable mass-communication air channels, who will be both able and anxious to convert commercial channel rentals into a maximum supply of entertainment and instruction, instead of into salaries for countless announcers, time salesmen and vice-presidents, and dividends on ever more and ever bigger "station" properties. Nobody, of course, can tell where the "ideal" custodian-licensee might ultimately be found, if ever: whether it should consist of one man or a hundred, whether it should control one channel or a dozen; whether it should be city-wide or state-wide (or perhaps even nation-wide) in its scope; whether it should specialize in supplying a given type of programs or in serving a given mental stratum among listeners; whether it should be a non-profit body, or a commercial corporation with its profits made dependent somehow on the amount of *non-advertising* broadcast service it succeeds in putting on the air; or whether indeed it should be a governmental or an extra-governmental body. There are advantages and disadvantages in a hundred general types of possible custodians for broadcast channels, *all of which should be given a trial.*

And still the Federal Radio Commission distributes its bounties of valuable channel resources among the clamoring throng of private advertising promoters who come well "accounted" with towers, tubes, and turntables. Recognized leaders in community thought and action still thoughtlessly acquiesce while each broadcast channel allotted at Washington for the service of their community is handed over on a golden platter to some local transmission-seller. To him, thereafter, go the local college president, the minister, and the school superintendent, hat in hand, to crave the favor of access for a few minutes to the air channel that the people's government has bestowed upon him. How long will they be content to do so? When will they realize their own far-superior moral claim, as actual servants of the "public interest," to a right of control over the hours and minutes of access to the local radio channel, as absolute as is the station operator's right of control over the hours and minutes of use of his station-property?

It is time for an end of the primitive theory that control of the air is somehow a perquisite of transmission-sellers. It is time experiments were undertaken, on a serious scale, in entrusting channel-control licenses rather to local public-service bodies not directly interested in selling more time to advertisers—bodies which could and would drive such bargains with local transmissionists and advertising-promoters as might best realize for the community the actual service of the epochal achievement of "wireless telephony"—radio broadcasting.

## The United States and the World Court

Esther Everett Lape

We in the United States like to think of our country as in the front of the effort to develop an intelligent technique for the intercourse of nations. And, indeed, at more than one moment in history the United States has pointed the way toward friendlier relations. The history of our past leadership makes the stranger our hesitancy during these last ten years to give our support to the outstanding agency for the judicial settlement of international disputes, for it was the American delegates to the First Hague Conference in 1899 who first—in modern times—suggested to the rest of the world the establishment of a world court of justice. The question of completing our adherence to the World Court is expected to come up in the Senate this winter for final settlement.

At the First Hague Conference one step in the direction of an international court was taken: the Hague Court of Arbitration was established. This court consists simply of a panel of judges from whom nations having a dispute may select arbitrators to settle that particular dispute. For many sorts of questions, where the important thing is simply to reach an amicable solution, arbitration is useful. But where the real point is to settle a dispute on the basis of law, of the correct interpretation of a treaty phrase, etc., something more than a board of arbitrators is needed—a court of justice is indicated.

At the Second Hague Conference, in 1907, the United States delegates again urged the establishment of a court sitting regularly and made up of judges giving their full attention to the work. A committee began to work out the Statute for such a court but

had not found a method of selecting the judges which would satisfy both large and small nations when the World War broke out.

After the War, the Council of the League of Nations asked a Committee of Jurists to draw up a Statute for a Permanent Court of International Justice. Mr. Elihu Root was one of the members of this Committee and it was he who suggested the scheme for choosing the judges that was adopted, thus overcoming the difficulty which had fatally delayed the establishment of the court proposed in 1907. The present World Court was established along very much the lines originally proposed by our delegates to the two Hague Conferences.

This Court has been functioning for more than ten years, with all of the great powers of the world except Turkey, Russia and the United States members. It is made up of 15 judges, chosen to represent not their own nations but the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. It has handled 44 questions, many of them delicate and thorny, notably the post war disputes between Germany and Poland. Many of the questions which the Court has thus successfully solved held the seeds of war. It is characteristic of the Court's work that in most instances it has brought about a solution of the difficulty at an early stage, before it has produced the friction from which war too often springs. For the most part, therefore, the work of the Court has not been spectacular. The Court has not stepped with upraised hand between opposing armies in the field, saying, "Let there be peace." The Court, on the con-

trary, has held sessions morning and afternoon, day after day, listening first to the arguments of one side, then of the other, then to rebuttals and counter cases. It has studied written proceedings, it has called upon experts for their opinions, it has gone painstakingly into every phase of treaties, the interpretation of which was in dispute. Then, all the evidence being in, all the necessary information being gathered, the judges have worked individually and together upon the decision. And in the end, after the most thorough study, the decision has been handed down.

With few exceptions, all this has been so quietly done that the general public in this country has paid little attention to it. That it has been well done is indicated by the fact that not one of the 44 decisions has been flouted by the nations parties to the dispute—although the Court's power to enforce its decisions rests solely upon the force of public opinion.

Almost from the time the Court began to function the question of our adherence has been before the Senate. It was first sent through to the Senate by the President on February 24, 1923. Three years later—on January 27, 1926—the Senate, by a vote of 76 to 17, approved our adherence to the Court with five reservations. That adherence has not yet been completed in spite of the fact that all the reservations, including the troublesome fifth, regarding advisory opinions, which—because of the looseness of its wording—had been the chief cause of the delay in the negotiations, were fully accepted by the signatory states in 1929, in the protocol of accession, one of those now awaiting ratification.

The three Court protocols which were signed by the United States, by the authority of the President, in 1929 and which the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate finally reported favorably to the Senate on June 1 last are:

- (1) The protocol of accession, mentioned above, which accepts the American reservations and provides the procedure for putting into operation those which require such procedure;
- (2) the protocol of signature of the original statute of the Court, signed by every nation when it adheres; and
- (3) the revision protocol, covering proposed amendments to the original Statute, most of them necessitated by the increasing work of the Court.

Of particular interest, of course, is the protocol of accession, and especially the part called the Root formula, setting forth the procedure for the operation of that much discussed fifth reservation.

The fifth reservation was intended by the Senate to protect the United States from the possibility that the Court might give an advisory opinion, without our consent, upon a question which we had already refused to submit for an actual judgment. The reservation provides that the Court shall not,

"without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest".

The Court, it should be said, has two sorts of jurisdiction. It can give actual judgments upon disputes brought to it by the parties. And it can, at the request of the Assembly or the Council of the League (it has always been the Council) give advisory opinions upon the legal aspects of questions with which

the League has to deal. The original Statute was explicit in requiring the consent of the parties for the Court's giving an actual judgment but did not mention advisory opinions. In actual practice the Court has followed the same arrangement for advisory opinions as for judgments and under the proposed revision of the Statute this will be required by the basic constitution of the Court.

The discussion in this country over the Root formula for the operation of the fifth reservation, regarding advisory opinions, has been due largely to a failure to understand exactly **what the formula does**. As sometimes happens, the amount of public enlightenment has not been in direct proportion to the amount of discussion! But the whole matter is fundamentally simple.

The United States, naturally, does not want the Court, under the guise of giving an advisory opinion, to deal with a question concerning us without our consent, which we might already have refused to submit for an actual judgment.

The nations abroad, on the other hand, while they are entirely willing to give us this power of veto, do not, naturally, want to be prevented from appealing to the Court for an advisory opinion by our unwarranted intervention. And one phrase in our fifth reservation—"has **or claims** an interest"—seemed to them to open the door wide to our objecting to an advisory opinion upon any question.

The probability is, of course, that we would never interpose our objection unless we were directly concerned in the question; under these circumstances the other nations were entirely willing that we should have the right to prevent the Court's giving the opinion. On the other hand, there is every reason to suppose that the nations abroad would be ordinarily considerate of our interests, whatever the exact wording of the agreement. But the discussion had been so long and so involved that it had become impossible to depend solely upon the exercise of common sense on both sides and so the very explicit protocol of accession was adopted.

The protocol begins by accepting all the American reservations, **including the fifth**. It goes on, in Article 5, to arrange for an exchange of views between the United States and the Council of the League when the Council is still in the stage of discussing whether or not to ask the Court for an advisory opinion. If, at this early stage, the United States expressed objection the likelihood is that the Council would not ask the Court for the opinion or if it did it would rephrase its request so as to get its own question answered and yet avoid what the United States did not want taken to the Court. But if, in spite of our objections, the Council took the request to the Court, we would still be able, under the accepted fifth reservation, to interpose our objection to the Court and so long as we remained in the Court, the Court could not entertain the request for the advisory opinion over our objection.

There has been a good deal of misunderstanding because at this point the protocol of accession refers to the right the United States explicitly claims in another reservation to withdraw from the Court at will. But the United States does not have to withdraw. The reference to the possibility is made because the drafters of the protocol (among them, Mr. Root) felt that if the United States and the other members of the Court disagreed so completely over the proper function of the Court, the United States would prob-

ably prefer, at that point, to give up the experiment in cooperation for, as Mr. Root pointed out when he explained to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate the force and effect of his formula, you cannot carry on an experiment in international cooperation by means of lawsuits.

The President, the Department of State, and such authoritative bodies as the American Bar Association (whose committee on international law made a special report on the subject) agree with Mr. Root that the interests of the United States are fully protected by the pending protocols.

Both major parties in their platforms last June

## Schools and the A. F. of L. Convention

**R**ESOLUTIONS on Banking, Financial Support of Schools, Payment of Chicago City and School Employees, Vocational Education and Guidance, Increased Cost of Public Schools, Curtailment of Public School Educational Facilities, Protecting the School Year, Revenue for Adequate Educational Systems, Teacher Salary Cuts, School Support in the Period of Retrenchment, Educating the Community to Support Public Schools, Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance were introduced by the delegate of the American Federation of Teachers to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati, November 21 to December 2. The resolutions on Banking, Payment of Chicago Employees, Teacher Salary Cuts, Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance went to the Resolutions Committee, Matthew Woll, chairman, Victor A. Olander, secretary; all of the others to the Education Committee, A. O. Wharton, chairman, Florence Curtis Hanson, secretary.

Resolutions on Government Ownership of Banking Institutions, Proposing Legislation Regulating Banking and Legislation for regulation of Savings Banks and Building and Loan Associations were also introduced.

The report of the Resolutions Committee on these resolutions was adopted as follows:

Your committee is well aware that the experience of the past few years is sufficient to justify strongest condemnation of banking practices and lack of proper regulation of banks and financial institutions. The losses to the wage earners of the country through bank failures and bankruptcy of savings, trust and loan associations have increased the suffering of thousands of people and added to the intensity of the panic. We are firm in the belief that laws regulating banks and banking should be adopted to prevent recurrence of these sad experiences.

Your committee believes it to be the prime purpose of banks to provide a place for safe keeping of deposits. Every protection to prevent depositors from loss should be provided and the bank system and practices should be remodeled to provide such protection.

While extension of credit for legitimate non-speculative purposes is a proper function of banks the practice of establishing control over industry and business not necessary to protect loans is condemned. We also denounce the policy of banks and bankers in forcing wage reductions under the threat of refusing credit which business and industrial establishments require to continue operation.

It is also suggested that strictest regulations and supervision over popular sale of foreign securities in the United States should be established and maintained. All classes of our people have suffered enormous losses as a result of the sale of worthless foreign securities and this experience should not be permitted to recur.

Your committee recommends that Resolutions Nos. 7, 31, 46 and 54 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to give careful attention to the question of banks and banking laws and take such action as may be necessary to correct the evils and abuses of our financial system.

At the first session of the Convention the following

endorsed the completion of our adherence to the Court. The President mentioned the Court in his annual message to Congress, as one of the matters which should be settled in the short session this winter. And the Democratic Steering Committee included the Court in the legislative program for this session.

The determining factor is likely to be the vigor with which public opinion insists that this important question, already for ten years before the Senate and the country, be brought to a conclusion, one way or the other, upon the merits, before the close of the present session.

telegram from Dr. Linville was read and incorporated in the proceedings:

New York, N. Y., November 19, 1932.

Mrs. Florence C. Hanson,  
Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati.

The American Federation of Teachers calls upon its affiliated body, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to warn the government and the bankers of the city of Chicago against the continuance of the disastrous policy of denying to the schools of that city adequate resources for their proper functioning. The unexampled tacit conspiracy in which bankers, politicians and tax-dodgers shift responsibility and do nothing in the school situation in the second largest city in the country is a standing menace to the education of our children throughout the land.

HENRY R. LINVILLE,

President, American Federation of Teachers.

To carry out the request of this telegram this resolution was adopted:

### Payment of Chicago (Ill.) City and School Employees

WHEREAS, The public employes of the City of Chicago, including the teachers in the public schools have not received a large part of the salaries due them for services performed during the past 18 months, although considerable reductions in their wage scales have been made; and

WHEREAS, Such salary payments have not been made because of delayed tax collections caused by tax strikes of the larger taxpayers and because of the refusal of the Chicago banks to loan money to the city by the purchase of tax warrants, although the security for such loans is adequate and the interest rate high; and

WHEREAS, The banks of Chicago announce that they have large sums of money they are unable to loan at good rates of interest with sufficient security and that they are discouraging further deposits by lowering the interest rate on savings accounts and by refusing deposits of the postal savings banks; and

WHEREAS, The refusal of these banks to furnish loans to the city for salary payments must be construed as a desire to curtail still further the diminished salaries of the public employes and as a deliberate attack upon public education; and

WHEREAS, The tacit conspiracy in which bankers, politicians and tax dodgers shift responsibility and do nothing to remedy the situation is causing great suffering to the public employes of Chicago and the people with whom they have economic relations and is a standing menace to the education of the children throughout the land; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon the government and the banks of Chicago to act immediately to end the intolerable situation that exists in Chicago by furnishing money to pay the city and school employes for the services they have rendered.

The American Federation of Teachers has for several years been asking that the American Federation of Labor adopt the principle of Unemployment Insurance as a policy. It is, therefore, with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction that we are able to report the adoption of this policy by a practically unanimous vote and with great earnestness.

The resolution against reduction of teachers' salaries was of course unanimously adopted.

(To be continued)

## News from the Field

### Chicago Locals 2, 3, 199, 209, 224 and 237

For a picture of the Chicago situation and what the Chicago locals are doing about it, we present the address of Mr. C. B. Stillman to the Board of Education on December 14, 1932.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION:

The Joint Conference of Teachers and Principals desires to place before you certain aspects of the resolution which was adopted without previous warning at a special meeting of your Board December 8th, accepting without question or protest the limitation of forty-eight million dollars placed upon the aggregate of all tax levies under the control of the Board of Education with the exception of that for bonds and interest. This limitation is a demand of the Citizens' Committee on Public Expenditures which is a self-appointed group of large tax payers containing no representatives of the mass of the citizens and practically no representatives even of patrons of the public schools. The law requires that the public shall have an opportunity for a hearing on the school budget. It would seem that the primary purpose of this statutory provision has in effect been nullified since the character of the budget to be presented at this hearing would be determined by this drastic limitation far below legal authorization. Surely the people of Chicago whose children use the public schools and are completely dependent upon the public schools for their educational opportunities should be permitted a voice as to the kind of schools which should be supplied, and should not be foreclosed in advance by the dictation of a highly non-representative pressure group such as the self-styled Citizens' Committee.

The public should be made familiar with these figures. On the basis of Assessor Jacobs' reduced valuation the Board of Education is authorized by statute to levy approximately seventy-two million dollars. On the same reduced valuation the City Council is authorized to levy for its various purposes about sixty million dollars. The representatives of the people in the legislature saw fit to make that difference in the amount of public funds available because of their valuation of the importance to the public of the various types of service, and because of other sources of revenue available for some of these services. In the face of this statutory authorization this Citizens' Committee makes an arbitrary demand for a slash in the school levies from seventy-two million to forty-eight million, or one-third, and a slash in the city's levies from sixty million to fifty million, or one-sixth. We are not for one moment suggesting that the city levies are fixed at too high a figure. We are stating that the public should be made aware of this continued discriminatory attitude against the schools which was evidenced by the slash in last year's levies of 28% by the Board of Education in contrast to the 17% for the city and 4% for the county, and now again by this renewed demand for double the slash in education

in comparison with that asked of other municipal functions. We believe that if the Board of Education should take steps officially to present such facts as these to the public, that Chicago would loyally rise to the support of its schools.

We are aware, as was brought out in the debate on the resolution in the Board of Education, that the Board felt it was acting under duress, that unless this arbitrary demand was complied with immediately the bankers would refuse to furnish the funds for bond maturities next January and February, and that default would destroy the credit of the Board for years to come. The teachers realize the urgent necessity of avoiding default in payment of principal and interest charges. They only wish that some fraction of that degree of sacred urgency seemed to apply to the payment of long over-due salaries for services faithfully rendered the community during the last half year. But they submit that on a matter of such grave import to the community as the kind of schools and school staffs we shall have during the next few years in this city that the Board of Education instead of accepting statements of the Citizen's Committee or newspaper reports should put very definitely to the leading bankers in control of the credit situation the question as to whether the banks would refuse to assist in avoiding defaults and in making same payment on back salaries if the Board of Education finds that their levies could be reduced from seventy-two million only to fifty-four or fifty-five million instead of the forty-eight million set up by the Citizens' Committee in order to avoid a disastrous wrecking of the skeleton organization under which the schools have been functioning during the last year. Before the banks are asked to carry the odium of so serious a charge as this they should be given a direct opportunity to speak for themselves.

During the debate on this resolution in the Board of Education the question was raised as to how the Citizens' Committee arrived at their figure of forty-eight million, and no answer was forthcoming. Since these taxes to be appropriated in the 1933 budget will not come into collection for two years any estimate is necessarily a guess. According to published reports the Citizens' Committee based their guess on the actual collections during the last few years while the depression was at its height, and the tax strike most effective. To assume that two years from now there will be no more adequate support for public functions is to ignore the series of court decisions which have already tremendously weakened the tax strike, is to ignore the fact that 88% of the people whose tax bills were \$200.00 or less have now paid their 1930 taxes, and is to assume that there will be no improvement resulting from the new tax assessing machinery already in operation which has practically completed a greatly reduced assessment roll, and that there will be no further strengthening of tax collections by projected new legislation. This is leaving entirely out of consideration any probable improvement in the general economic situation two years from now. The statute provides the method of estimating future levies, and this method would entitle the schools to seventy-two million dollars. If a public body is going to ignore that statutory method and make guesses on some other basis, is it not reasonable to suggest that the Board of Education with its sworn obligation to protect the public schools, should make its guess in the interest of the schools, or, at least, should

not unquestionably accept the guess of a voluntary extra-legal group who are not themselves dependent upon the public schools for the education of their children and whose narrow special interests in the matter lie in a reduction of tax bills for themselves and their corporations. The situation is made the more tragic by the statutory requirement that the educational fund for 1934 cannot exceed the 1933 budget about to be drafted by more than 4%. So that a blunder here would have its vicious effects in future years.

There is one aspect of the budget situation which may not occur to all the present members of the Board of Education. To the best of our knowledge the teachers are the only group in public or private employment whose basic salary schedule is still on the former depression level of 1921. Of course, you realize that during the past year while that basic salary has been preserved on paper, in practice the teachers have received a cut varying from 11 to 30%. The Joint Conference urges upon you with all earnestness the simple justice involved in maintaining that basic schedule, though devices may be needed to secure budget adjustments as has been the case during the past year.

In conclusion we appeal to the Board of Education to take the necessary measures to inform the people of Chicago of the actual facts involved in educational curtailments already placed in effect, and the effects upon educational opportunities for the children and citizens of Chicago of further drastic slashes in tax levies which must be reflected in instructional costs. Included in this statement should certainly be a comparison of percentage reductions in the various public services. If the citizens of Chicago no longer consider their schools among the most essential public activities, and after complete presentation of such facts demand disproportionately greater slashes in education than in the other public functions, their will must prevail. Until the citizens have an opportunity to make an intelligent judgment based on an undistorted presentation of the facts, we cannot accept as the voice of the people the arbitrary dictation of the Citizen's Committee on Public Expenditures.

### New York Local 5

For local news from New York we like nothing better for conciseness and a clear picture than Dr. Lefkowitz's letter:

"Just got back from Albany only to be off again. Between bankers and communists we are having a hell of a time. We are slowly gaining ground. The Union is waging a vigorous fight with no retreats and no surrender. We expect to retain our mandatory legislation, schedules as they now are, and State aid. We shall probably have a cut from 6 to 10% for the period of a year or two but retain our pension rights. It is a fight to a finish and we are going to continue it."

Dr. Linville writes:

"Governor Roosevelt recommended to the special session of the Legislature that what we call the Mandatory Clause protecting our salary schedule shall be permitted to continue. The banking interests, our citizens' budget commission, as well as a number of conservative organizations were trying to have this State law repealed so that the salaries of teachers would be thrown back to the tender mercies of the Board of Estimate in New York. Roosevelt's message and our own good fighting

have tended to guarantee the continuance of this law. We are now fighting to maintain the present salary schedule under that law. It is possible to reduce the salary schedule by legislative action. We may find it impossible to hold our ground on this, but *we are making a bold effort to do so.* The President of the Board of Education has taken the ground that the City must have a reduction of eight million dollars from our salary schedules. Inasmuch as he is a banker himself, we understand his point of view, but we don't accept it."

Since the above was written, the Legislature of New York has passed a bill which declares that an emergency exists which requires the following temporary reductions in the salaries of the teachers of the City of New York:

In the case of a person who is serving, or who shall serve, on regular appointment, on an annual salary of \$2,000 or more:

Six per centum of the amount of his salary which is not in excess of \$2,000; except that no salary shall by reason of such deduction, be less than \$2,000;

Seven per centum of the amount by which his salary exceeds \$2,000 and does not exceed \$3,000;

Eight per centum of the amount by which his salary exceeds \$3,000 and does not exceed \$4,000;

Nine per centum of the amount by which his salary exceeds \$4,000 and does not exceed \$5,000;

Ten per centum of the amount by which his salary exceeds \$5,000 and does not exceed \$10,000;

Fifteen per centum of the amount by which his salary exceeds \$10,000 and does not exceed \$15,000;

Thirty-three and nine-tenths per centum of the amount by which his salary exceeds \$15,000;

Six per centum of the salary or compensation of a person not paid on an annual basis, except substitute teachers in day schools.

The emergency is declared to exist until the Legislature shall find the temporary reductions unnecessary.

The basic salary schedule remains unchanged as does the mandatory legislation, the State retaining salary control, and pension and retirement rights are protected.

### Sacramento Local 31

Sacramento Local 31 is putting out monthly a very attractive and valuable four-page pamphlet entitled, "The Teacher's Voice". The first page contains the president's message and is a strong appeal for support of sound organization. The remaining pages are given to discussion on tenure—a burning question in California—and local problems vital to the schools.

Local 31 will be glad to send "The Teacher's Voice" to any local requesting it.

The Local is having a very substantial gain in membership.

The officers this year are:

President.....Dr. H. A. Leader  
Vice-President.....Mabel P. Adams  
Recording Secretary...C. H. Nielsen  
Corresponding Secretary...J. H. Swan  
Treasurer.....H. G. Baugh

### Minneapolis Local 59

On September 11, Local 59 was given a rather unusual opportunity to present the teachers' problems and status at the present time. Mr. and Mrs. S. A. Stockwell, Mr. Stockwell a legislator of long standing and always friendly to the teachers, gave a Corn Fest—an annual affair. There were about two hundred people there who after a sumptuous meal, gathered on the lawn eager to listen to a discussion on some social problem, as is the custom. This year the Stockwells felt that their guests should be made to realize the growing encroachment of wealth and vested interest upon the public school, and should consider some of the specific problems of teachers. Mr. Stockwell gave a very sympathetic and instructive introductory talk, paying particular tribute to Miss Mae Snow as a courageous pioneer in the educational life of Minnesota. The program which followed was in charge of Local 59. Miss Margaret Thompson gave a splendid talk on the *Status of the Teachers*, urging the teachers to realize their present status as wage-earners, and to identify themselves with groups pledged to create better conditions for all wage-earners. Miss Ora McLaughlin told in a most interesting and fascinating manner of her experiences as a teacher, emphasizing salaries in relation to training and experience, and what a teacher is expected to do. Mrs. Alice Drechsler presented startling facts as to some of the types of contracts teachers are asked to sign, especially the yellow dog contracts. Miss Mary Byrnes urged greater interest and "eternal vigilance" in legislative activities, with particular reference to tenure. Local 59 is most grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Stockwell for this rare opportunity.

On October 6th, the Federation sponsored another "tax dinner." At this dinner meeting with about 150 present, the teachers were addressed by Miss Violet Johnson and Mr. Harry Fiterman. Miss Johnson, who had proved very efficient on Prof. Blakeley's Tax Survey Committee, gave a clear survey on our inadequate and antiquated system of taxation. Mr. Harry Fiterman, who was responsible for the exposing of twenty corporations in Minneapolis in their tax dodging, startled his audience with some of the things that he disclosed. For instance one corporation, after Mr. Fiterman's survey, voluntarily raised its money and credits declaration from 635,000 to 3,500,000 dollars. He recommended (1) that Minneapolis be a city and county in itself and thus save the cost of two governments; (2) that there be one taxing body and not six; (3) that there be real budgeting not guessing; (4) that there be equality of taxation. The Federation is at present urging Mr. Fiterman's appointment to the State Tax Commission.

A mass meeting of all Minneapolis teachers was called by the Federation on October 28th. This meeting was called for the purpose of urging the Board of

Education to do that to which some of its members were already thought to be committed—take legal action to separate the Board of Education from the Board of Estimate and Taxation, thus allowing the Board of Education to levy its own tax. Mrs. Luella B. Cook presided and introduced Judge Tift who presented his legal opinion. A resolution asking the Board of Education to start action immediately was passed. No action was taken by the Board.

MERCEDES NELSON.

### San Francisco Local 61

#### Some Educational Problems of California

Wet and Dry; Roosevelt and Hoover; these were not the only questions Californians were called upon to settle at the last election. Amendment No. 9, proposing a change in the state method of financing her public schools, was defeated by a large majority. This measure was sponsored by the State Real Estate Board, the State Grange and the California Teachers Association. The measure proposed raising the money by an income tax and a modified sales tax; this failing to raise sufficient funds, authority was given to levy an ad valorem tax. Strong opposition developed at once, many felt sure it would increase the school tax at least \$50,000,000 per year. This would probably have been sufficient to defeat the measure. Labor, of course, is opposed to a sales tax and went on record against the bill. The Association of California Classroom Teachers, likewise, declared the bill was ill advised and proposed without sufficient data to justify its approval.

Elated with victory and forgetful of the fact that thousands of classroom teachers helped to defeat said amendment No. 9, the enemies of the public schools in California now assume that they have been given *carte blanche* to make up the State's deficit by reducing the constitutional allowance for teachers' salaries. The State Constitution provides, from the funds of the state, \$30.00 per pupil for both elementary and high school students. In addition the several counties of the state must raise \$30.00 for every elementary pupil and \$60.00 for every high school pupil. This, of course, is figured on the basis of an average daily attendance. All this money is used in the payment of teachers' salaries.

The proponent of this measure is Arthur H. Breed, state senator from Alameda County. He is apparently obsessed with the one idea, cut down expenses wherever it can be done most easily. He seems to have given no thought to the inequitable results of his plan and less, if possible, to the injustice thereof.

But this is only part of the story. We must not forget that many of the school districts of the state have already cut their teachers' salaries from 5 to 25%. If this is the road to Prosperity and to happy and efficient schools, then the writer admits that he is no prophet.

Like a California famous brand of salt, "When it rains it pours." Financial worries are not our only troubles. The ever recurring question of tenure confronts us again. School boards, violating the spirit of the law, have agreed in many cases to dismiss all new teachers at the end of their probationary period. In doing so they make no charges of incompetency, but proudly say that they have released many of their best teachers in order to defeat the tenure law. Please remember that it is all done for the good of the public schools! !

But in spite of all this the teachers might look hopefully to the future if that which we have been told for many years were true, viz., "The interests of teachers and administrators are the same." Judging from the way things are developing in California there are just two or three words that need to be changed in order to make the saying true; "The interest of School Boards and Administrators are the same." Just to prove this is no wild statement we quote as follows: "It is our opinion that teachers as a group, or craft, have paid too dear for tenure, and they will continue to do so in increasing amount until the present law is either amended to suit Boards of Education and Trustees, or is wiped off the statutes in its entirety." Recommendation from the Superintendents of the Bay Section.

Another from the Superintendents and Principals Association of Ventura reads: "Resolved, that this Association is opposed to the permanent tenure of teachers and believes the present tenure law should be repealed." And thus, *ad infinitum*, the story is the same. Will the stress of the present open the eyes of the classroom teachers of America and send them back where they belong, to the national classroom teachers' organization, The American Federation of Teachers? The answer will determine, in a large measure, whether the teachers of the future will be serfs or independent citizens.

J. M. GRAYBIEL,  
President.

### Portland Local 111

The failure of the School Tax Levy in June was a heavy blow to the Portland school system. Because of Oregon's six per cent tax limitation law, it has been found necessary every year to submit to Portland taxpayers this special school levy, and before this year it has always passed with a good majority. Its failure this year led to a drastic curtailment of expenses—expenses meaning, for the most part, teachers' salaries. During the summer the board considered submitting a smaller levy in the fall but this plan was immediately opposed by the Tax Economy League and the East Side Taxpayer's League, the two organizations whose propaganda had wrecked the June levy. The Central Labor Council which had strongly supported the June levy passed a resolution endorsing the proposed new one and advising that on the ballot the issue be made plain to the voters: that if the levy failed the school year would be shortened to eight months.

However, the board finally decided to get along on available funds. The school year was cut to nine months and salaries cut ten per cent in addition. In all, the Portland teachers have had a reduction of twenty-three and a half per cent for the school year 1932-33.

Against the discouraging background of the summer months, one fact was projected sharply and brightly. This was the staunch friendship of Labor for the schools. By his presence at school board meetings, by radio talks and by letters to the press, Mr. Ben Osborne, Secretary of the State Federation of Labor, proved himself an invaluable ally, whose intelligence and untiring zeal could always be relied upon; and it was largely owing to his efforts on their behalf that the teachers did not suffer a more drastic reduction of salary. (The East Side Taxpayer's league along with two members of the School Board

worked for a twenty-eight or thirty per cent cut.)

The issue was so clear-cut and it was so apparent to the Portland teachers, at least to the more intelligent ones, who were really their friends that interesting developments have taken place. The High School Teachers' Association has broken its affiliation with the Chamber of Commerce, which opposed the levy, and has been considering affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. In an address before the association Mr. Osborne made it plain that it was because there is a Teachers' Union in Portland that Labor has been kept advised about school affairs and has been able to give its assistance. As a result of all this a sudden interest in the Union and its activities is apparent. The Union bids fair to grow this next year.

The Union Book Club developed this fall into a real study class, which meets on alternate Thursdays to follow a course outlined by Dr. Noble of Reed College. The course is entitled *National and International Planning*. Using Georg Soule's *A Planned Society* as a text, the members read considerable correlated material which is discussed under the direction of a leader appointed for each meeting. We are enjoying the work and incidentally are receiving Reading Circle credits for it.

EDITH FORBES.

### Lawrence, Mass., Local 244

The Lawrence Federation of Teachers has more than doubled its membership since taking out its charter and now has on its roster a majority of the high school teachers. It is working specifically on Sick Leave, Teacher Load and Salary, and studying critically the programs of the Chamber of Commerce and the National Economy League.

The organization has made fine progress under capable leadership. It is planning a meeting of the teachers of Lawrence and neighboring cities in January at which Secretary Hanson will be the speaker.

### Commonwealth Local 194

Commonwealth College, the labor school near Mena, Ark., will accept a few new students for the winter term, beginning January 3, to replace members of the present student body unable to remain.

Commonwealth has made a number of improvements in its plant and equipment to care for the present record-breaking enrollment, and a new dormitory will be erected as soon as funds are available. The school now has fifty-five students, more than three times as many as it had a year ago.

Courses to be offered include world history, labor history, Marxian thought, economics, public speaking, journalism, labor education, labor problems, labor dramatics, farm problems, psychology and stenography.

The tuition fee is \$40 for each quarterly term of twelve weeks, and this is the only expense to the student except a few cents a week which he may wish to spend for tobacco, candy, etc. His board, room and laundry service are furnished by the college in exchange for 20 hours work per week on the college farm-campus.

Both students and teachers "work their way" at Commonwealth. The school is largely self-supporting, raising most of its own food upon its farm and garden. Work done by students and teachers includes

farming, gardening, cooking, chopping wood, milking cows, washing dishes, washing and ironing clothes, roofing and building, etc.

The only entrance requirements are intelligence and an interest in the labor movement.

### San Francisco Elementary Teachers Local 241

The San Francisco Federation of Elementary Teachers is functioning actively and cooperating with other locals and social and civic groups on the problems of the San Francisco and California schools, problems which are numerous and difficult, and not unlike those of other cities. The chief work before the organization is to develop an enlightened public opinion on the educational situation.

The officers for this year are:

President: Miss S. A. Corpstein.

Vice-president: Mrs. Eloise G. Little.

Recording Secretary: Miss Sophia Peterson.

Financial Secretary: Mrs. Josephine Hylton.

Treasurer: Miss Grace Mosby.

Trustees: Miss Florence Bruyere, Mrs. Lotus Peterson, Mrs. Florence Spaulding.

Mrs. Lotus Peterson is chairman of the Legislative Committee, an especially important committee with the fight on tenure impending.

### New Locals 245, 246, 247

The American Federation of Teachers welcomes into membership this month three new locals, St. Lawrence County, N. Y. Local 245, Chattanooga and Hamilton Co., Tenn. Local 246 and Depew, N. Y. Local 247. "In Union there is strength" is as true today as it ever was, if not truer. Only by the union of those who are interested in safeguarding public education can we hope to save our schools. That increasing numbers of teachers are realizing this is heartening indeed. The new locals are assured of the full cooperation of the other locals and members of the American Federation of Teachers.

### Who's Who in this Issue

William J. Bogan, Superintendent of Schools, Chicago.

William G. Carr, Director Research Division, N. E. A.

John P. Frey, Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

Charles J. Hendley, Teacher of Economics, George Washington High School, New York City; Treasurer, New York Teachers Union, Local 5.

Esther Everett Lape, Member-in-charge, Committee on Foreign Relations of The American Foundation.

William T. McCoy, Principal Bowen High School, Chicago; Men Teachers Union, Local 2.

Harris K. Randall, Executive Secretary, American Radio Audience League.

# American Federation of Teachers

506 South Wabash Avenue

CHICAGO, ILL.



## **The American Federation of Teachers**

desires to establish an intimate contact and an effective co-operation between the teachers and the other workers of the community.

## **The American Federation of Teachers**

desires to co-operate with all civic organizations for improved civic life.

Groups of seven or more public school teachers are invited to affiliate with this National Organization of Classroom Teachers, for mutual assistance, improved professional standards and the democratization of the schools.

## ***Our Slogan Is:***

***Democracy in Education:      Education for Democracy***

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